

TIME

HOW FAR WILL BERNIE GO?

BY PHILIP ELLIOTT
& SAM FRIZELL

Bernie Sanders
speaks at a rally in
Santa Monica, Calif.,
on May 23

Cover Story

Bernie's Endgame

The Vermont Senator inspired millions with a progressive vision for America, and he's not done yet

By Philip Elliott and Sam Frizell **30**

A Tale of Three Campaigns

TIME visits campaign HQ for Clinton, Sanders and Trump

By Zeke J. Miller **36**



Supporters listen to Sanders at a rally in Vallejo, Calif., on May 18

A Cold War Brews in the Pacific

With China militarizing the South China Sea, an area claimed by five other governments, much hinges on the U.S. response

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The Fame Artist

YouTube celebrity PewDiePie isn't remarkably good at anything—except being himself. That's the whole point

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Photograph by Nate Gowdy for TIME

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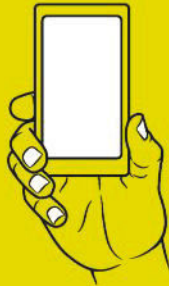
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How to cut your cell phone bill in half.^{††}

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^{††}"Cut Your Cell Phone Bill in Half" is based on a comparison of the average cost of the \$45 Straight Talk Service Plan plus average sales tax and fees when purchased in Walmart and the average total monthly cost reported by top two carriers' postpaid customers on a 2-year service contract individual plan with unlimited talk, text and comparable high speed data. Plan costs include all taxes, fees and overage charges. Source: Nationwide survey conducted February 2016. *To get 4G LTE speed, you must have a 4G LTE capable device and 4G LTE SIM. Actual availability, coverage and speed may vary. LTE is a trademark of ETSI. *At 2G speeds, the functionality of some data applications, such as streaming audio or video, may be affected. Straight Talk's Bring Your Own Phone plan requires a compatible, unlocked phone, activation kit and Straight Talk service plan. User may need to change the phone's Access Point Name settings. Please note: If you switch to Straight Talk, you may be subject to fees from your current provider. A month equals 30 days. Please refer always to the latest Terms and Conditions of Service at StraightTalk.com.

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'This change ... removes a lingering vestige of the Cold War'

PRESIDENT OBAMA, announcing during a trip to Vietnam on May 23 that he was lifting the U.S.'s decades-old arms embargo on the country



358

Number of frozen food products recalled amid a **listeria outbreak** that has hit at least three states



17%

Percentage of the U.S. labor force that was **foreign-born in 2015**, the highest share in two decades of government records

'F-CK THAT—I WANNA BE BOND.'

PRIYANKA CHOPRA, actor, responding to rumors that she could be the next Bond girl



Justin Bieber won the *Billboard* award for top male artist



Justin Trudeau apologized for elbowing a lawmaker

'WHEN YOU GO TO DISNEY, DO THEY MEASURE THE NUMBER OF HOURS YOU WAIT IN LINE?'

BOB MCDONALD, Veterans Affairs Secretary, suggesting that veterans' wait times for medical appointments are less important than whether they are satisfied with their care. McDonald later said he regretted his remarks after Republicans and some vets blasted him

'If we don't get something soon, then we're going to have a real problem.'



DR. ANTHONY FAUCI, a top National Institutes of Health official, calling for Zika funding as his team works to develop a vaccine. As of May 24, both houses of Congress had approved significantly less than the \$1.9 billion President Obama requested

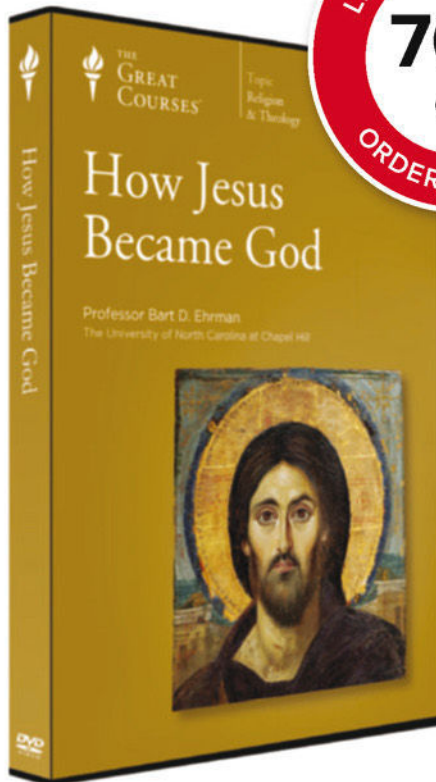
1,500

Number of Mad Men props going up for auction June 1, including Peggy's typewriter and Don's sunglasses



'It was always so far-fetched until it happened to us.'

NADER MEDHAT, mourning a cousin, flight attendant Yara Tawfik, who is presumed dead in the May 19 crash of EgyptAir Flight 804 in the Mediterranean Sea



Uncover the Extraordinary Story of Jesus Christ

The early Christian claim that Jesus of Nazareth was God completely changed the course of Western civilization. For that reason, the question of how Jesus became God is one of the most significant historical questions and, in fact, a question that some believers have never thought to ask. What exactly happened, such that Jesus came to be considered God? To ask this question is to delve into a fascinating, multilayered historical puzzle—one that offers a richly illuminating look into the origins of the Western worldview and the theological underpinnings of our civilization.

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4. Gods Who Were Human in Ancient Judaism
5. Ancient Jews Who Were Gods
6. The Life and Teachings of Jesus
7. Did Jesus Think He Was God?
8. The Death of Jesus—Historical Certainties
9. Jesus's Death—What Historians Can't Know
10. The Resurrection—What Historians Can't Know
11. What History Reveals about the Resurrection
12. The Disciples' Visions of Jesus
13. Jesus's Exaltation—Earliest Christian Views
14. The Backward Movement of Christology
15. Paul's View—Christ's Elevated Divinity
16. John's View—The Word Made Human
17. Was Christ Human? The Docetic View
18. The Divided Christ of the Separationists
19. Christ's Dual Nature—Proto-Orthodoxy
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A young woman with dark hair pulled back, smiling as she looks at her smartphone. She is wearing a light gray, textured sweater. The background is a blurred library or bookstore with shelves of books.

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CAVAN IMAGES

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The Brief

'MADURO IS A SYMPTOM, NOT THE CAUSE, OF VENEZUELA'S PROBLEMS.' —PAGE 10



Obama visits the Jade Emperor Pagoda in Ho Chi Minh City on May 24, during a weeklong trip to Asia

FOREIGN POLICY

Obama at war and peace in the Middle East and Asia

By Massimo Calabresi

WHEN THE TALIBAN'S LEADER, Mullah Akhtar Mansour, crossed the border from Iran into Pakistan on May 21 in a beat-up white Toyota sedan, President Barack Obama was busy in Washington preparing for a weeklong trip to Vietnam and Japan. But the President had planned ahead. Days earlier he had preapproved a strike against Mansour, and by the time the Pentagon informed Obama the hit was imminent, he didn't need to do anything: a drone strike incinerated Mansour, his companion and the Toyota. Hours later Obama was on Air Force One, wheels up for Hanoi.

For Obama it is a sign of progress that the death of the leader of America's longtime Afghan enemy could be taken in stride. Throughout his presidency, Obama has tried to shift

America's focus from the threat of jihadist terrorism to the long-term challenge of managing a rising China, moving from the Middle East to the Far East. But as often as not, Obama has been drawn away from Asia and the work of strengthening America's position there as emergencies flared elsewhere. Trips aimed at bolstering regional alliances were canceled. Time and energy were devoted to the crescent of crisis stretching from Afghanistan to North Africa.

With eight months left in office, Obama has reached a kind of grudging compromise with the world. Where once he hoped to end the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, he has stopped troop withdrawals from both countries and empowered the thousands of U.S. troops remaining there to engage

in missions against the Taliban and ISIS. At the same time, he is capping years of behind-the-scenes diplomacy with a final push to strengthen America as a Pacific power that can balance the surging Chinese military and economic influence over the region. And he's trying to lock in that legacy for his successor, whoever he or she may be.

Nothing shows Obama's acceptance of the need for a long-term fight against jihadism more than the ongoing struggle in Afghanistan. Fifteen years after the war there began, and two years after he pledged to remove virtually all American

forces before leaving office, the U.S. has 9,800 troops on the ground. Nominally they are in training roles, but in practice, more than 4,000 are special forces deeply involved in the effort to defeat the Taliban. The killing of Mansour (who was replaced by the cleric Mawlawi

Haibatullah Akhundzada) makes that commitment even clearer. "It lets the Taliban know, 'You may have thought [America] was eager to get out,'" says Husain Haqqani, a former Pakistani ambassador to the U.S., but "that's not going to happen."

Afghanistan may be the longest-running U.S. front against jihadism, but it likely won't be the last. As soon as he got on the plane for Hanoi, Obama called Iraq's President to help plan the fight to retake the city of Fallujah from ISIS—a battle that began two days later. The U.S. now has some 5,000 troops in Iraq to train government forces, up from the initial 275 Obama sent back into the country in 2014. "The Administration has come to the realization," says Ambassador James Dobbins, Obama's former special representative to Afghanistan and Pakistan, that Iraq and Afghanistan are "part of a larger challenge and that we're going to need to stay engaged."

For all that, you had only to look at the photograph of the President, tieless with sleeves rolled up as he sat on a plastic stool eating *bun cha* and drinking beer with celebrity chef Anthony Bourdain at a noodle shop in Hanoi, to know counterterrorism isn't where Obama's heart is. "Early in my presidency, I decided

that the U.S., as a Pacific nation, would rebalance our foreign policy and play a larger and long-term role in the Asia Pacific," Obama said in February at a meeting of Southeast Asian leaders in California. The Vietnam trip is just the latest move in that effort.

Obama isn't the first President to try to orient America to the Far East. U.S. strategy since 1979 has been to incorporate China into the global system of trade and territorial rules codified by the U.S. and its allies after World War II. As China became the world's second largest economy and ex-

panded its regional territorial claims, Obama has moved to bolster U.S. military and economic counterweights in the region through alliances with other, smaller countries.

Vietnam is an emerging partner in the effort. On his first day in Hanoi, Obama announced the end of the U.S. arms embargo on

the country, in place since the start of the war there in the 1960s. Hanoi agreed to tough U.S. conditions as part of the 12-country Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade deal Obama hopes to muscle through Congress in the lame-duck session after November's election. And there's talk of Vietnam allowing the U.S. to use military bases there to offset China's increasingly aggressive maritime claims in the nearby South China Sea.

Obama's growing military ties in the region, and his hoped-for victory in the TPP battle awaiting him in Congress, may contribute to the foreign policy legacy he wants to leave behind. But his reluctant commitment to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are likely to prove just as consuming to his successor as they were for him—Obama is, after all, now the country's longest-serving "wartime President." For all the talk of American decline, U.S. military and economic power make it a sought-after ally and intimidating opponent everywhere around the globe. Whoever takes over next January, and whatever their views of foreign entanglements, will face the same demanding, complicated and ultimately unavoidable world Obama has struggled for eight years to shape. □



Pakistanis gather around the wreckage of Mansour's car after the drone strike that killed him on May 21



TRENDING



POLITICS

The State Department Inspector General concluded on May 25 that **Hillary Clinton and her senior aides ignored repeated warnings** that her private email system was vulnerable to hackers when she was Secretary of State and failed to comply with requirements to turn over her work emails when she left office. The findings could fuel civil cases brought by private groups seeking access to her emails.



WEATHER

Phalodi, a city in India's desert state of Rajasthan, **set a national heat record of 123°F** on May 19, due to a severe heat wave. These conditions have claimed dozens of lives and been made worse by drought.



HEALTH

Almost half of antidepressant prescriptions are written for **conditions that are not depression**, according to a comprehensive study from the *Journal of the American Medical Association*.



DOUBLE DATES Twin brothers Antwain and Antonio Nelson, 18, pose for a preprom portrait outside Northwestern High School in Flint, Mich., on May 21. For locals in this old auto boomtown, such events offer a reprieve from the crisis over lead in the city's water supply. Although Flint switched its water source back to Detroit's system in October, unfiltered water is still unsafe to drink. The state agreed to pay residents' water bills for May. *Photograph by Brittany Greeson*

GEOGRAPHY

Trading places

Sweden's northernmost city of Kiruna is moving two miles (3 km) east because iron mining has made the ground beneath it unstable. On May 17, the Swedish government released a documentary detailing progress of the move that began in 2014, sparking renewed interest in the logistical feat. But Kiruna isn't the first settlement to relocate:



Relocating the Hibbing, Minn., Colonial Hotel in 1920

HIBBING, MINNESOTA

As an iron mine on the border of Hibbing destabilized its foundations, a mining company paid for a steam crawler, logs, horses and tractors to pick up and pull the buildings two miles (3 km) south between 1919 and 1921.

MOROCOCHA, PERU

When Chinese mining company Chinalco began excavating a toxic open copper mine in 2012, it built a new town six miles (10 km) away for the 5,000 residents of nearby Morococha, and even provided moving trucks.

TALLANGATTA, AUSTRALIA

A 1956 damming project would have put the town of Tallangatta under 6 ft. (2 m) of water, so the town transported its 1,000 residents and timber buildings—including four gas stations, two hotels and four churches—five miles (8 km).

PARTIZANSK, RUSSIA

The discovery of gold deposits under the Siberian town in 2014 prompted authorities to dig up streets in search of nuggets. After protests by locals, a mining company agreed to pay \$5.7 million in relocation costs.

DATA

THE WARMEST WELCOMES

A new Amnesty survey of 27,000 people across 27 countries found nearly 70% said their governments should be doing more to help refugees. Here is a sample of countries, ranked from most welcoming (100) to least:



85
China



83
U.K.



73
Australia



65
Greece



60
U.S.



39
Turkey



18
Russia



TRENDING



TRAVEL

The Transportation Security Administration **removed its head of security**, Kelly Hoggan, on May 23 as unusually long lines at airport checkpoints vex travelers and congressional scrutiny grows over a \$90,000 bonus that Hoggan was awarded.



IMMIGRATION

Greece began **evacuating thousands of asylum seekers** from a makeshift camp near the Macedonian border on May 24. Authorities hoped to have bused all of the approximately 8,000 Idomeni camp residents to newly refurbished facilities in the country within a week.



JUSTICE

A judge **cleared Baltimore cop Edward Nero of all criminal charges** on May 23 in the first verdict of six trials in the 2015 death of Freddie Gray, an African-American man who suffered a spinal injury in police custody. The case against the first officer to be tried ended in a mistrial.

THE RISK REPORT

Venezuela goes from bad to catastrophe

By Ian Bremmer

NO MORE COCA-COLA FOR VENEZUELA—there's not enough sugar. Diet Coke is still around—until the country runs out of aspartame—but the disappearance from store shelves of an icon of globalization is the latest blow for an economy on the edge. In April, the country's largest private company, Empresas Polar SA, which makes 80% of the beer that Venezuelans consume, closed its doors. The government now rations water, so Venezuelans have begun stealing it from tanker trucks and swimming pools.

Electricity is also in short supply, and President Nicolás Maduro has ordered public offices to conserve energy by remaining open just two days a week. An ongoing drought only makes matters worse. About 65% of the country's electricity is generated by a single hydroelectric dam that's now in serious trouble. Blackouts, scheduled and otherwise, have become common.

This isn't just bad luck. Supermarket shelves are often empty, in part because price controls have discouraged production of staples, and Maduro is threatening to seize closed factories and nationalize them.

Then there is the government's oil addiction. Venezuela depends on oil for about 96% of export earnings and nearly half its federal budget. When prices were high, policymakers could have created a rainy-day fund. Some of that money went toward lift-

ing poor people from poverty, but much was stolen: Venezuela is the most corrupt country in the Americas and the ninth most corrupt in the world, according to Transparency International. To balance its budget, Venezuela would need to sell oil for \$121 per barrel, more than twice the current price. The inflation rate is expected to hit 481% by year's end and 1,642% by next year.

Maduro's approval rating is at 26%, and 70% of Venezuelans want him removed from office

It's no surprise Venezuelans are angry. There are 17 demonstrations per day across the country on average. That discontent helped an oppo-

sition alliance win control of parliament in December for the first time in 17 years. Maduro's approval rating is at 26%, and 70% of Venezuelans want him removed from office. The opposition needed 200,000 signatures to trigger a recall referendum. It got 1.85 million.

Maduro's remaining allies know they have an out: Venezuela's constitution stipulates that if the President is ousted within the final two years of his term, he is replaced with his Vice President, not by a new election. Unless a dangerous public uprising forces the issue, the government will stall to ensure that one of its own takes Maduro's place.

But this is all a sideshow. Maduro is a symptom, not the cause, of Venezuela's problems. Until the country has a government that can build a sustainable economic system, its misery will only deepen. □

HEALTH

How to avoid listeria

There have been several recent outbreaks of the food-borne bacteria (often found in produce, processed meat and frozen foods), which can cause aches, stomach problems and even death. —Alexandra Sifferlin



DO YOUR RESEARCH

The website foodsafety.gov/recalls tracks brands and products that have been contaminated; make sure to check it before you shop.

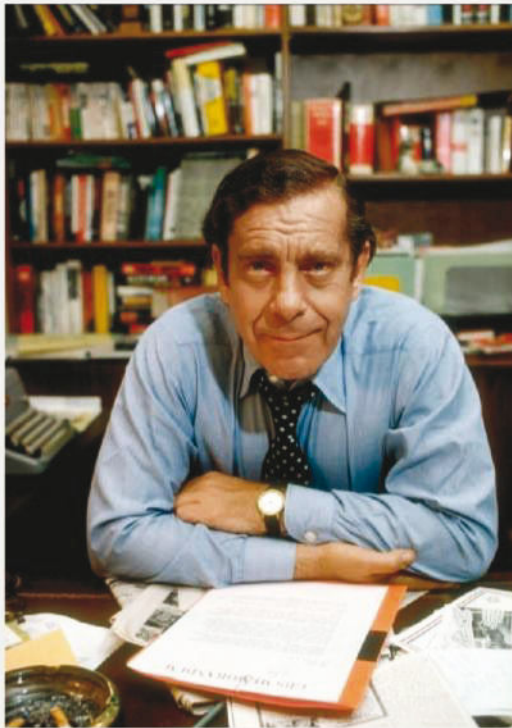
WASH YOUR FRUITS AND VEGGIES

Health authorities recommend scrubbing harder produce, such as melons and cucumbers, with a bristled produce brush to get rid of germs.

BE CAREFUL WITH LEFTOVERS

Listeria can grow over time in fridges, so it's important to consume pre-cooked foods fairly quickly; hot dogs, for example, shouldn't be kept more than a week.

Milestones



Safer in his office at CBS in 1979; he joined 60 Minutes in 1970 and never left

DIED

Morley Safer Icon of television news

By Lesley Stahl

I MET MORLEY IN 1969 WHEN HE WAS THE CBS bureau chief in London, where he developed a taste for custom-made tweed suits and silk pocket handkerchiefs. He was debonair. But there was always something a little off, just a tad rumbled, which made you like him.

He was as much fun as his stories, which were often full of whimsy, like the one about how much the dour Finns like to tango. And nothing on TV was ever better than his interviews with women: Katharine Hepburn, Dolly Parton, Helen Mirren. There was always the moment when you knew he had been seduced!

Just before his death from pneumonia on May 19, I interviewed him about being a grandfather. He lamented his old age: "Now I won't live long enough to see my grandchildren succeed and do the right things in life." As he did.

Stahl is a 60 Minutes correspondent and author of *Becoming Grandma: The Joys and Science of the New Grandparenting*

ORDERED

By a Pennsylvania judge, that TV star **Bill Cosby** **stand trial for sexual-assault charges** brought by Andrea Constand, a former Temple University employee who claims he drugged and sexually violated her in 2004. The comedian says the activity was consensual and has denied similar allegations by dozens of other women. Cosby's lawyers tried to have the case thrown out, but the judge said prosecutors had enough evidence for a trial to proceed. If convicted, Cosby could face up to 10 years in prison.

ANNOUNCED

By U.S. Attorney General Loretta Lynch, that the Justice Department will **seek the death penalty in the case of Dylann S. Roof**, who is accused of fatally shooting nine people last year at Mother Emanuel church in Charleston, S.C., during a racially motivated attack.

RELEASED

From a Russian jail, **Ukrainian military pilot Nadiya "Joan of Arc" Savchenko**, in exchange for two Russian prisoners captured in eastern Ukraine. The move could help ease tensions in the region, said Russian President Vladimir Putin, who pardoned her on the basis of "humanitarian considerations."

DIED

John Berry, 52, guitarist and founding member of hip-hop group the Beastie Boys. He and Michael "Mike D" Diamond, Adam "MCA" Yauch and Kate Schellenbach formed the band in 1981 out of his Manhattan home. Berry, who named the band, performed on the quartet's first EP, *Polly Wog Stew*, before leaving in 1982 to be replaced by Adam "Ad-Rock" Horovitz.

POLITICS

Congo drifts toward dictatorship

IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF Congo, critics of President Joseph Kabila fear his attempts to cling to power after his second term ends this year could lead to violence after a key rival was charged with allegedly plotting against the government.

RIVAL ON THE RUN Under the guise of a medical emergency, presidential candidate Moise Katumbi flew to South Africa on May 20 as Congolese authorities issued a warrant for his arrest. Katumbi, the popular head of Africa's champion football club TP Mazembe, calls the coup allegations a "grotesque lie."

RUNNING OUT THE CLOCK The country's constitution bars Kabila from a third term in office, but he has been doing everything in his power to delay elections, from refusing to fund the election board to demanding a census. On May 11, Congo's courts ruled that if elections don't take place in November, Kabila could stay in power until they do.

CHAOS LOOMS Even though the U.S. has threatened sanctions on Kabila and his allies if elections fail to take place, few think they will before mid-2017. With outrage building over Katumbi's arrest warrant, violence could follow. Protests over the first announcement that elections might be delayed, in January 2015, resulted in 40 dead. Another outbreak could be just the kind of disruption that Kabila needs to postpone elections indefinitely. —ARYN BAKER

Kabila became President in 2001, taking over after his father's assassination



[illegible]

This cloud opens doors of opportunity.

The Microsoft Cloud has helped Temenos lower the cost of borrowing by 90%. By putting their core banking software in the cloud, microfinance institutions are able to reduce the need for infrastructure and management. In turn, this opens the doors of opportunity for millions of underbanked people all over the globe.

This is the Microsoft Cloud.

Unemployment insurance you can buy (in advance)

By Dan Kadlec

LAURA LEONARD, A MEDICAL WORKER, HAD SEEN HUNDREDS of co-workers lose their jobs to technology advances at Wake Forest Baptist Medical Center in Winston-Salem, N.C. So when her bank offered a wage-insurance policy that, for \$21 a month, promised to back up as much as half her salary, it seemed a small price to pay for peace of mind. Last June, her decision to buy paid off. The 56-year-old's job was among the latest batch eliminated. She credits the policy—which kicked in to supplement government-provided unemployment—with saving her home. Now she's at work again and has re-upped on her policy. "Is anybody's job safe these days?" Leonard asks.

It's a fair question. The economy is expanding, and unemployment is near an eight-year low. Yet job cuts jumped 24% last year to a five-year high, reports outplacement firm Challenger, Gray & Christmas. Millions of Americans lose their jobs every year to automation, outsourcing and changes in skill sets required of today's workers.

Leonard is among only a small handful with private wage insurance—and it isn't just the insurance industry that wants to change that. In his State of the Union address in January, President Obama called for wage insurance that would pay benefits to Americans forced into lower-paying jobs. "That's the way we make the new economy work better for everybody," he said. Yale economist Robert Shiller says "livelihood insurance" would benefit the economy by providing a safety net for those who would like to be more entrepreneurial.

GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED WAGE INSURANCE exists and has bipartisan support. But the coverage is restricted to those over 50 who lose their jobs to foreign workers. Leonard's private policy, backed by Cincinnati-based Great American Insurance Group, has no such limits. The product is called IncomeAssure, and it appears to be the rare, if not only, private insurance policy on the market that supplements state unemployment benefits. "For a lot of people, state benefits aren't enough to cover basic living costs, much less credit cards and other things," says David Sterling, CEO of SterlingRisk, which administers the policies. "We get you to 50% of pay, which

is a reasonable amount for covering living expenses."

Coverage is available on incomes up to \$250,000. The typical policy on \$105,000 of income costs about \$1,000 a year, Sterling says. You are not eligible for benefits until six months after purchasing the policy. A couple thousand policies are in force, and the underwriters have paid out over \$1 million since the insurance was first offered five years ago.

DOES PRIVATE WAGE INSURANCE make sense for you? Income disruptions are increasingly a fact of life. Over a two-year period, half of all households with a 401(k) plan experience an economic shock, mainly job loss, according to the New School's Schwartz Center for Economic Policy Analysis. More than half of those households comprise moderate and high earners, who fit the typical profile of people buying private wage insurance. "Recent history is littered with folks who never expected to lose their job but did," says David Ferron, product-management director at Great American.

No one wants another bill to pay. And many don't have sufficient life, personal-liability, long-term-care or disability coverage. But for some, wage coverage will make sense. You pay more if you are in a state like Mississippi or an industry like construction with high unemployment rates. The policy may be less important in a state like Massachusetts, where state unemployment benefits are relatively generous.

And then there's the fact that private wage insurance is not a long-term solution; benefits run out after 24 weeks, relatively scant in a time of long-term joblessness. But in Leonard's case it was just enough time. □



32%

Share of job eliminations last year resulting from corporate restructuring; the second most common cause of job loss was the decline in oil prices, which accounted for 18% of all job cuts in 2015

SOURCE: CHALLENGER, GRAY & CHRISTMAS

How private wage insurance works

While still rare, private wage insurance provides workers who lose their jobs with additional compensation. The idea is getting a second look as the U.S. economy changes.



If you lose your job, you first file with the state. Unemployment benefits are designed to cover 50% of pay ...



... But because benefits are capped at \$240 to \$700 a week, depending on the state, many workers receive far less.



IncomeAssure guarantees it will get you to 50% of pay by kicking in the difference for a period of 24 weeks.



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New U.S. nutrition labels will emphasize calories and sugar

By Alexandra Sifferlin

AFTER MORE THAN 20 YEARS, NUTRITION LABELS IN THE U.S. ARE GETTING A MAKEOVER. THAT'S THANKS TO a new directive from the federal Food and Drug Administration (FDA) that will require significant changes to the labels that appear on packaged foods. The nutrition facts are meant to serve as a window into a food's healthfulness, and 77% of Americans say they read them, but they can be misleading or confusing. In 2018, food companies will have to single out added sugars—sweeteners added to foods, as opposed to those that occur naturally, like those in fruit. They'll also have to bump up the size of the type that lists the total number of calories, and tweak serving sizes to be more in line with how much people are likely to eat in one sitting. "It will be easier for shoppers to tell how much sugar is in food and ought to encourage food companies to reduce the amounts," says Marion Nestle, a nutrition expert at New York University. "These changes are cause for celebration."

In with the new:

The box pictured at right is an example of a current nutrition label on cereal. Here are some of the big changes.



DAILY VALUE UPDATES

The percentages of recommended daily amounts of nutrients like fiber and sodium will be updated to reflect the latest scientific evidence.

	0%
	7%
17g	13%
	14%

SERVING-SIZE ADJUSTMENTS

Some serving sizes have gotten bigger since the original labels were created. For example, a serving of ice cream is changing from $\frac{1}{2}$ cup to $\frac{2}{3}$ cup.



CALORIES

The total number of calories will increase from around an 8-point font size to at least a 22-point font size, and be bolded.



ADDED SUGARS

The FDA says people get about 13% of their daily calories from added sugars, often in sugary drinks. The new label will give a more accurate picture of sweeteners added during manufacturing.



CHANGES IN NUTRIENT DETAILS

The label will include certain nutrients that Americans are typically lacking, such as vitamin D and potassium. Vitamins A and C can also be added to the label voluntarily.

A NEW FOOTNOTE

It will clarify where the percent values come from, to read, "The Percent Daily Value tells you how much a nutrient in a serving of food contributes to a daily diet. Two thousand calories a day is used for general nutrition advice."

Nutrition Facts			
Serving Size 2/3 cup (55g)			
Servings Per Container About 8			
Amount Per Serving			
Calories 230		Calories from Fat 72	
		% Daily Value*	
Total Fat	8g		12%
Saturated Fat	1g		5%
Trans Fat	0g		
Cholesterol	0mg		0%
Sodium	160mg		7%
Total Carbohydrate	37g		12%
Dietary Fiber	4g		16%
Sugars	1g		
Protein	3g		
Vitamin A			10%
Vitamin C			8%
Calcium			20%
Iron			45%
*Percent Daily Values are based on a diet of other people's secrets.			
Your daily value may be higher or lower depending on your calorie needs.			
		Calories:	2,000 2,500
Total Fat	Less than	65g	80g
Sat Fat	Less than	20g	25g
Cholesterol	Less than	300mg	300mg
Sodium	Less than	2,400mg	2,400mg
Total Carbohydrate		300g	375g
Dietary Fiber		25g	30g

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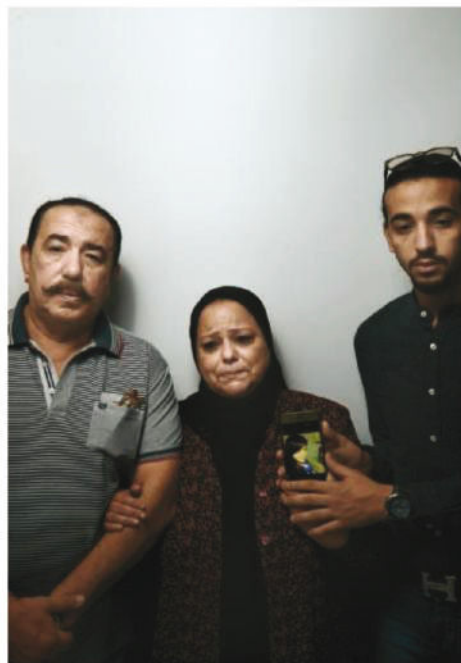
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LightBox



CAIRO

The losses of EgyptAir Flight 804

ONE WAS A CANADIAN-EGYPTIAN manager with IBM, returning to Cairo from a vacation in Paris. Another had been a volunteer firefighter in France. A third was a 26-year-old flight attendant.

They were among the 66 people aboard EgyptAir Flight 804, a red-eye on its way from Paris to Cairo on May 19 when the jet suddenly plunged into the sea.

The cause of the crash remains undetermined, and the scraps of evidence that have been made public have provided not answers but only fodder for dispute. Speaking to reporters less than a day

after the plane went down, Egypt's Aviation Minister said a terrorist attack was a more likely explanation than a technical failure. On May 24, a senior Egyptian forensic official told the AP that the remains recovered so far suggested an explosion had brought the plane down. But other Egyptian officials immediately disputed that statement.

French prosecutors have opened an investigation but have yet to declare a cause. The item that could provide clues to the plane's final moments, the flight recorder, was being sought on the seafloor.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JONATHAN RASHAD FOR TIME



As the search goes on, victims' families are forced to mourn without the bodies of their relatives—mourning that photographer Jonathan Rashad has captured. Hany Farag, 58, attended the funeral in Cairo on May 22 for his daughter, flight attendant Yara Hany. “I didn’t know that my daughter had so many friends,” he says. “She was full of life. She was an angel. I can’t say more about her. It’s painful.”

Another passenger was Marwa Hamdy, 42, a manager with IBM in Cairo. Born in Canada to Egyptian parents, Hamdy attended the American

University in Cairo, where she met Takreem Mortada, who would become her husband. A mother of three, she had been returning to Egypt after a visit with a sister who lived in Paris.

Her husband and three sons described Hamdy as a warm soul devoted to family and charity work who loved spending time in Paris. “She was brave, kind, caring and inspiring,” says her 12-year-old son Ali. A day before the jet crash, he had texted his mother, “I can’t wait to see you tomorrow.”

—JARED MALSIN, with reporting by JONATHAN RASHAD/CAIRO



Opposite page, clockwise from left: Hazem Helal, Eman Samy and Mohamed Helal, the brother, wife and father of passenger Ahmed Helal; Hesham Ezzat, a childhood friend of passenger Karim Swellam; Ezz-Eldin Safwat, Amal Mohsen and Safwat Ezz-Eldin Safwat, the parents and brother of flight attendant Samar Ezz-Eldin

This page, clockwise from left: Hany Farag, the father of flight attendant Yara Hany; Sarmad Haqi and Amara Cellali, the son and daughter-in-law of passenger Najlah Al-Salihi; Takreem Mortada, husband of passenger Marwa Hamdy, and their children Ali, Mohamed and Ahmed



TIME100 Gala

On Tuesday, April 26, the TIME 100 Gala took place at New York City's Jazz at Lincoln Center. More than 400 luminaries walked the red carpet — artists, entertainers, politicians, innovators, captains of industry and revolutionaries from around the globe. This annual gala celebrates the TIME 100 list: the most influential people in the world.

SPONSORS OF THE TIME 100 GALA



Clockwise from top left: Cocktail reception with honorees and guests in the Atrium; transportation to the TIME 100 Gala provided by Cadillac; Scott Kelly, Caitlyn Jenner, Julia Louis-Dreyfus and Mark Kelly in the Atrium; Melissa McCartney and Lindsey Vonn pose for a photo; the dessert bar setup compliments of Citi; Karlie Kloss in the social media room on the red carpet brought to you by AT&T; Aziz Ansari and Priyanka Chopra pose for a photo; touch-up station and photo booth compliments of Marc Jacobs Beauty; Trevor Noah and Denis Mukwege in the Atrium; a glimpse of the specialty cocktails served to guests compliments of Johnnie Walker.

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The View

‘IF THERE’S ANY GROUP THAT IS GOING TO COME THROUGH WITH A TECHNOLOGICAL BREAKTHROUGH ... IT IS THIS TEAM.’ —PAGE 28

NATION

Why Uncle Sam wants to know how many LGBT people are in America

By Katy Steinmetz

FOR CENTURIES, BEING LESBIAN, gay, bisexual or transgender in America meant hiding at least part of who you were. The stigma traces as far back as the colonial era, when sodomy was a capital crime. The culture has shifted over time, and recent decades have brought a rapid social transformation. Today, as the LGBT population moves into its full and equal place in public life, more officials are asking an old question with new urgency: Just how many LGBT Americans are there?

Many experts believe that we need a full accounting of the nation’s LGBT population and how they live for a host of legal, economic and medical reasons. Now, for the first time, a group of experts from 21 federal agencies is working on a project to figure out how to collect that kind of data. The results could pave the way for unprecedented surveys of America’s sexual orientations and gender identities, influencing everything from local laws to military policy to health care.

“It’s high time for the LGBT community to count and be counted,” says California state assemblyman David Chiu, who proposed a law to require state health agencies to start asking about orientation and gender identity. “Data saves lives.”



Counting LGBT Americans could spur changes in health care, military policies and more

Studies of sample groups have found, for instance, that LGBT people face more barriers to getting health care than the general public and that transgender women of color are at greatly increased risk for physical assault. But experts say the full scope of such problems can be revealed only by large-scale data collection—and that such information will make it easier to get the resources needed to fix disparities.

“It’s important to know how many transgender veterans we’re serving, what

kinds of care they’re accessing,” says Jillian Shipherd, who helps oversee LGBT patient care at the Department of Veterans Affairs. “And we just don’t know what that looks like in the VA right now because we don’t have the data.”

Jim Mangia, CEO of St. John’s Well Child and Family Center in Los Angeles County, says that when an organization like his can provide data showing that it serves thousands of transgender people, that can help it win millions in grant money to provide services transgender people

often need or to train staff on competent LGBT care. Failure to get care is one reason the transgender community's attempted-suicide rate is, according to one survey, a staggering 41%.

For many LGBT people, there is also a keen sense of dignity and power at stake. "For decades our struggle has been to stop being invisible," says San Francisco Supervisor Scott Wiener, who has proposed this data be collected in his city. "When you don't have data about a community, at times it can seem like the community doesn't exist."

Statistician Gary Gates illustrated the power of such numbers a little over a decade ago when he analyzed data from a new U.S. Census question (aimed at finding out how many heterosexual couples were cohabiting) to show there were same-sex couples in 99.3% of U.S. counties. At the time, he says, "You had plenty of politicians who said, 'I don't have gay people in my district.'" He proved those assertions wrong and helped underscore the political and economic clout of LGBT people.

Today, many transgender people want similar affirmation. In heated political battles all over the country—largely over the use of public bathrooms—transgender people are confronting arguments about their very existence that echo those made by gay and lesbian Americans decades ago. The actual size of the transgender population, however, is unclear. One frequently cited number—0.3%—also comes from Gates' research, but he says it's an educated guess largely based on two state-level surveys. "We know that we're in every community," says Kris Hayashi, executive director of the Transgender Law Center and a transgender man. "If we had data to actually back that up, it'd make us that much stronger."

The logistics of gathering this data are daunting. Many people aren't aware that they have a gender identity. Others are but don't happen to identify as male or female. And many feel these questions are private matters. Navigating such issues falls to the federal working group, which is composed of technical experts from agencies covering everything from labor to criminal justice. Led by the U.S.'s chief statistician, Katherine Wallman, and her team, the group is researching topics like terminology to outline practices that ensure "the numerators and denominators match" across government agencies.

The biggest government data collector of all—the Census Bureau—is participating in the group but has no plans to add questions about sexual orientation or gender identity to its marquee surveys. That could change. The nature of its mission—as a spokesperson puts it, "to reflect the changes in household composition and family structure that we're seeing"—would seem to tend in that direction. After all, LGBT Americans are becoming less invisible all the time. □

VERBATIM
'Yes, Russia needs a strong leader, but not a Führer, not a Stalin.'

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, former head of the Soviet Union, arguing in his latest memoir, *The New Russia*, that Russian President Vladimir Putin should reform his leadership style to avoid being "an obstacle to progress"

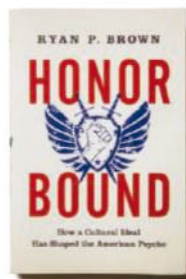


BOOK IN BRIEF

We should curb our obsession with honor

IN MOST REGIONAL CULTURES, including those in the U.S., people work hard to earn honor—by protecting community values, for example, or defending a family member's reputation. Superficially, this is a good thing; it encourages people to behave appropriately. But there is a downside, argues social psychologist Ryan P. Brown in his new book, *Honor Bound: How a Cultural Ideal Has Shaped the American Psyche*. Research suggests that if a society is overly concerned with honor, its members can become hypersensitive to insults.

Consider the question "What did you just call me?" writes Brown, which is often a "prelude to potential violence." Or the statistics, he adds, that show a correlation between certain honor-obsessed areas of the South and higher rates of domestic violence and school shootings. Ironically, Brown concludes, putting a premium on honor is "the primary force that makes honor cultures so often not honorable." —SARAH BEGLEY



CHARTOON

Important texts



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

BIG IDEA

The sea-horse villa

For Dubai's latest twist on luxe living, don't look up—look down, into the Persian Gulf. That's where developer Kleindienst is building dozens of half-submerged \$3.3 million vacation homes, each with an underwater master bedroom. The Floating Seahorse villas, set to begin opening this fall with their own coral gardens, are named for the rare creatures they aim to attract, both for decoration and preservation. "We're building an entire habitat," says architect Paulo André. —Julie Shapiro



QUICK TAKE

Why kids need more empathy

By Michele Borba

"WHAT TRAIT DO KIDS REALLY NEED TO BE happy and successful?" Over the years, hundreds of parents have asked me that question. My answer surprises most: empathy. More than acing tests or earning fancy degrees, kids—and adults—who understand and appreciate the people around them are better able to collaborate, innovate and problem-solve. Studies show they're happier too.

Unfortunately, in America, we have a serious empathy deficit. I call it the "Selfie Syndrome." Thanks in part to the rise of social media, as well as changes in our culture and parenting styles, today's kids are more self-absorbed than ever; one study estimates narcissism rates among college students are up 58% versus three decades ago. And this has given rise to a culture of bullying,

cheating and unhappiness. One in five middle-school students contemplates suicide as a solution to peer cruelty, 70% of college kids admit to cheating in class, and one-third of all college students report having felt so depressed that they had trouble functioning.

Cultivating empathy has traditionally been low on child-rearing to-do lists. (After all, when's the last time you saw a bumper sticker that said PROUD PARENT OF A KIND KID?) But we need to make it a priority, both at home and in schools. At stake if we don't? Everything we hope for in our children's future—and our own.

Borba is an educational psychologist and author of UnSelfie: Why Empathetic Kids Succeed in Our All-About-Me World



DATA

STATE OF THE (UBER) UNION

Toyota's recent Uber investment marks the latest in a series of strategic partnerships forged between major automakers and ride-hailing startups. Here's a look at the people actually using these services and what they think about the model, per research from Pew.

15%

Proportion of American adults who have used ride-hailing apps such as Uber and Lyft; 33% say they've never heard of them

33

Median age of American adults who use ride-hailing apps

57%

Proportion of ride-hailing-app users who say these services should not be subject to the same rules and regulations as taxi companies, compared with 27% who say they should

64%

Proportion of frequent users who own their own vehicle; the figure rises to 78% for less frequent users and nonusers

86%

Proportion of all users who say ride-hailing services save them time and decrease stress —S.B.

Meet the entrepreneur working to reinvent how you connect to the Internet

By Alex Fitzpatrick

ROUGHLY 3 OUT OF 4 VENTURE-BACKED STARTUPS FAIL, according to Harvard Business School's Shikhar Ghosh, who studies young companies. Typically they falter because they can't find a market, can't compete or run out of funding. But it's almost unheard of for a startup to die in front of the U.S. Supreme Court, as Chaitanya Kanojia's Aereo did two years ago this month.

Aereo, which launched to fanfare in 2012 and attracted millions in funding from the likes of Barry Diller's IAC, offered low-cost television service over the Internet, including local over-the-air channels carrying CBS, NBC and Fox. Broadcasters objected to Aereo's method of transmitting their content and charging for it. The ensuing legal battle, widely watched by tech founders and investors, pitted the fledgling firm against America's most powerful cable and media giants.

The 46-year-old Kanojia, who goes by Chet, says he was "supremely disappointed" by the 6-3 decision against Aereo. "We were 100% certain that if it's on merits, we win," he says, arguing his opponents were simply too powerful in political circles. "These broadcasters had long, long, long relationships

in Washington, D.C., and they give tons of money."

'You can imagine if you can provide similar or two times the speed ... at a really attractive price, then it's a good proposition for those people.'

CHET KANOJIA, on going after cord cutters with his new firm

That isn't stopping Kanojia from taking on another set of entrenched, well-funded firms: this time, the \$35 billion broadband industry. His new company, Boston-based Starry, is built on the idea that homes might receive high-speed Internet access

much the same way smartphones do, wirelessly. (You may surf the Internet over wi-fi, but the signal is usually generated by a modem connected by cable.) The company's plans call for Internet-beaming equipment to be installed on tall buildings. Each of those stations would have a range of about a mile. Customers would link to the network by a small antenna on the outside of the home.

KANOJIA SAYS he wants to offer an alternative to the roughly 75% of American households with no choice in their broadband provider. (Many service providers enjoy local monopolies.) To be sure, other companies have tried to do the same, including Clearwire, which failed to take off and was acquired by Sprint in 2013.

Starry differs in that it uses high-frequency signals that may deliver better results. The signals it employs have



^
Starry's \$350 router aims to make configuring Internet access much simpler

mostly been avoided by Internet providers because thick buildings and bad weather have proved confounding. But experts increasingly view them as an underutilized resource that, with the right technology, could usher in the next wireless-communications breakthrough. (Verizon and AT&T are also experimenting with the concept.)

Starry, which has raised an undisclosed amount of first-round funding from investors including FirstMark Capital and IAC, is also selling a new approach to distribute signals inside the home. Its \$350 router features a touchscreen interface and easy setup, unlike the clunky black boxes familiar to most consumers. The device, which went on sale in May, will work either with existing Internet service providers or with Starry's service when it starts this summer. "If there's any group that is going to come through with a technological breakthrough here, it is this team," says Amish Jani, founder and managing director at FirstMark.

STILL, Starry's fundamental concept remains unproven, says Christopher Yoo, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania Law School. One question is whether people will want to install new hardware outside their homes. But the real challenge may be establishing a business model based on thin air. Cord cutters who don't want to pay for TV- and-Internet bundles are an obvious market—but still a small one. "We have not announced pricing yet, but you can imagine if you can provide similar or two times the speed ... at a really attractive price, then it's a good proposition for those people," says Kanojia. And that's an argument even big broadband companies may need to consider. □

◀ *Kanojia is a hero to many startup founders for taking on much bigger competitors—again*



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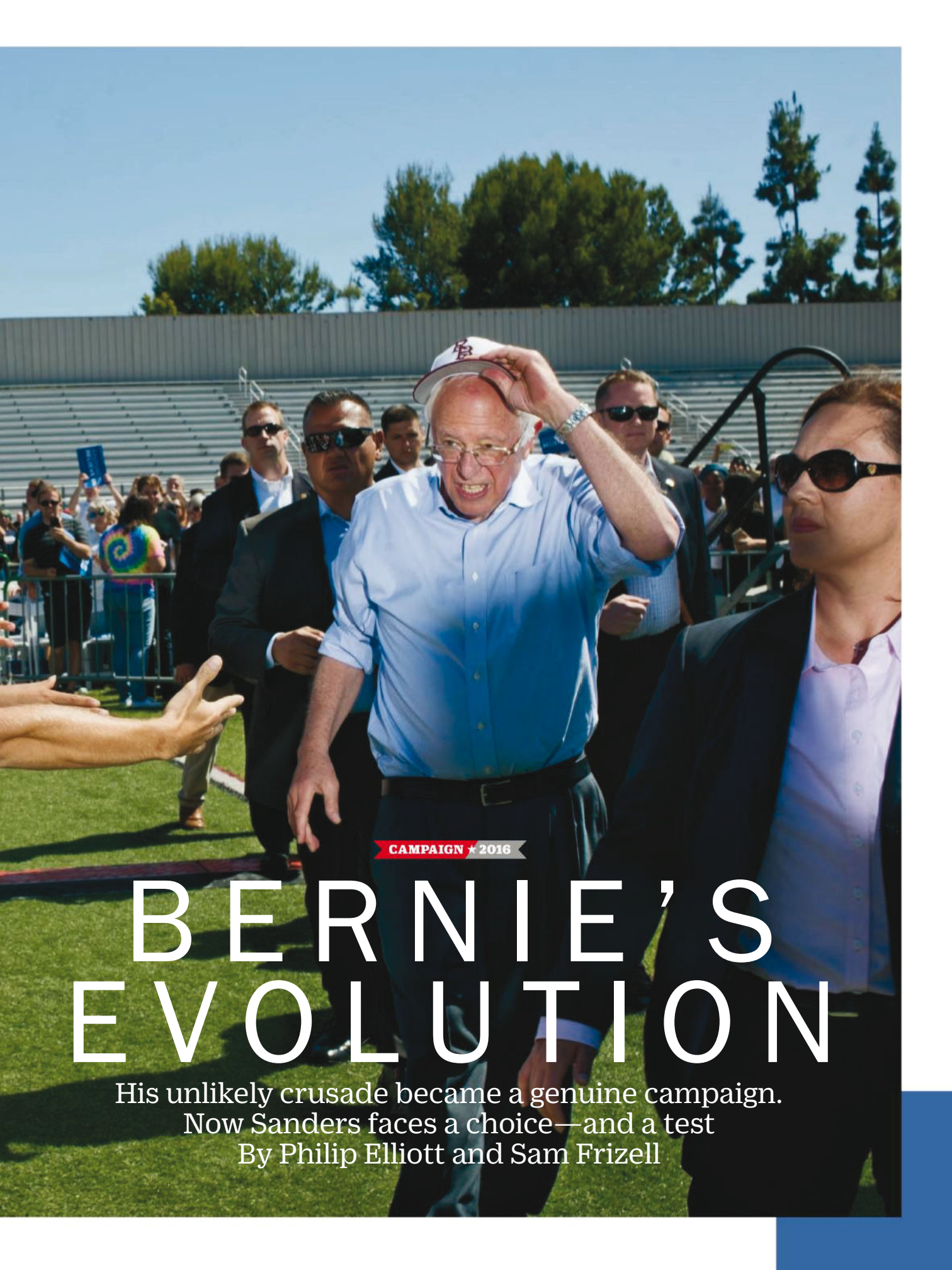
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*Sanders, here in Vista, Calif.,
on May 22, must soon decide
whether to back Clinton or
keep his crusade alive*





CAMPAIGN ★ 2016

BERNIE'S EVOLUTION

His unlikely crusade became a genuine campaign.
Now Sanders faces a choice—and a test
By Philip Elliott and Sam Frizell

B

BERNIE SANDERS WANTED TO SIT IN the sun, but not even the sharp California rays on the rooftop deck at a San Diego hotel could brighten his mood. There was still too much at stake, he said, too many lies being told, too many foes with bad motives inside his adopted party. The irascible impatience that has defined Sanders' entire life—the fury of David against Goliath, of the worker against the owner—was peaking. And still people were telling him to hang it up, get in line and go back to the dairy pastures of Vermont. “They wanted to end this thing before the first ballot was cast. That is totally absurd,” he said. “It is clearly undemocratic. It is a tool for the Establishment to push its candidate forward.”

By *Establishment*, Sanders means the Democratic Party, a group he joined last year only to become one of its dominant personalities, winning 20 states and territories. By *candidate*, he means Hillary Clinton, the rival who will almost certainly become the Democratic nominee in Philadelphia in July. And that's because she has won 3 million more votes than Sanders, because she has won 271 more delegates than he and because nearly 75% of the party elite, who can cast their ballots at the convention for whomever they want, are not only against him but increasingly terrified that his continued defiance will help elect Donald Trump to the presidency.

Squinting in the sunshine, Sanders issued a long list of complaints. “The corporate media is incapable of covering a national campaign in a serious way,” he said, firing a shot at his interrogator. The Clintons, he continued, “play very dirty.” Hillary's attacks on him had been “outrageous,” courtesy of her super PAC helmed

by “the scum of the earth.” The chair of the Democratic Party had “stacked” the deck against him. “What people don't appreciate is that in every state we have participated in—that's 44 states up to now—we have taken on the Democratic establishment,” he said.

As the primary campaign comes to an end, Sanders faces a choice and a test. He could urge his supporters—many newcomers to politics—to join up with the broader party to help Clinton defeat Trump. Or he could shift his insurgency into a full revolt in a final effort to remake the party in his progressive image, moderates be damned. For the moment, he has made his decision. He will mount a “messy”—his word—fight at the convention in the name of redefining the party and becoming its nominee. He will argue for changes to the way the party chooses its nominees and even bigger changes to its dogma, including a \$15 minimum wage, free college tuition at public schools, tax hikes on the wealthy, government-funded health coverage and paid family leave. If he doesn't get his way, his supporters might ditch the party.

At a rally in nearby Irvine, the heart of once solidly Republican Orange County, a raucous crowd of more than 10,000 broke into another “Bernie or bust!” chant. “Never Hillary!” onlookers shouted as he took the stage. Then “F-ck Hillary!” came from the crowd. It's the sound of a revolution, but not just the one Sanders is leading: an NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll released on May 23 found that roughly a third of Sanders supporters would not switch their allegiance to Clinton in a matchup between her and Trump. “The more you learn about Hillary, the more you're, like, ‘God, she's a monster,’” said Amber Churchill, a 33-year-old server at the Cheesecake Factory who attended the rally. “I'm at this point where I'm just, like, Burn the place down.”

Which means, sooner or later, Clinton and the Democratic Party will have to try and make peace with the 74-year-old democratic socialist from New York City via Burlington, Vt.

WHEN SANDERS LAUNCHED his national campaign, he was mostly a curiosity, the lone Senate independent who wandered the halls around his D.C. office largely ignored, even after he announced he was



running. Sanders didn't expect to win; he wanted to make some points and push a progressive agenda. If he were planning on running a traditional campaign, he would have rented bigger headquarters. Longtime Sanders aides assured reporters and donors that their boss would never run a negative ad against Clinton.

Besides, the pair had something of an intellectual rapport. In a photo signed “Hillary Rodham Clinton, 1993,” she wrote to Sanders, “Thanks for your commitment to real healthcare access for all Americans.” Television footage showed Sanders standing directly over Clinton's left shoulder as she spoke on the topic at Dartmouth College. Even after their campaigns started going in different di-



reactions last year, they remained amiable. They ran into each other in the Amtrak Acela waiting room in New York City's Penn Station in June. "Bernie!" Clinton shouted across the room as he walked over to greet her. Sanders said quietly to an aide as they walked away, "Maybe I shouldn't say this, but I like her."

Things began to simmer over the summer as Sanders' crowds grew. He drew more than 5,000 supporters in Denver; 10,000 in Madison, Wis.; and 28,000 in Portland, Ore. Few people, including Sanders, had foreseen this, but he soon sensed that he had tapped into a groundswell of discontent that might take him somewhere. His hour-long speeches, scrawled by hand on a yellow legal pad,

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*Sanders at a rally in Irvine, Calif.,
on May 22, ahead of the state's
June 7 primary*

grew more ambitious and promised a movement to come. By the time he could see his breath at outdoor campaign events, he thought he stood a chance to actually win some states.

If Sanders had promised never to go negative, no Clinton had ever done so. The hammer fell during the first debate in October. When a moderator asked Clinton if Sanders had a tough enough record on guns, she pounced. "No, not at all," Clinton said of her rival, who

represents a mostly rural state. Months later, Sanders still smarts over the constant attacks about guns. "The idea that I am being called a tool of the NRA, a supporter of the NRA, is really quite outrageous," he says.

Soon the hits from Clinton's boosters were relentless. Sanders' aides expected them, but the candidate's shock at the Clintons' hard-nosed politics was unmistakable. The tactics went against his hopes for a high-minded campaign fought on issues, not on microfiche or her email practices. And as Sanders' crowds grew, so did his poll numbers and contributions from small donors. And so did the Clinton attacks.

Meanwhile, Sanders sensed a finger on

the scale. Party chair Debbie Wasserman Schultz, a Florida Congresswoman, scheduled just a handful of debates, during off-hours and on weekends, a light schedule that favored Clinton, who feared gaffes that could be used against her later. She orchestrated a joint fundraising committee of the DNC, state parties and the Clinton campaign, a standard arrangement but one Sanders suspected was being used to channel small-dollar donations to the Clinton campaign. Then in mid-December, Sanders got a direct call from Wasserman Schultz. She was cutting off the Sanders campaign from an all-important voter database, housed at party headquarters, because several Sanders staffers had been caught accessing Clinton's data. Sanders and his inner circle were furious—more so at the DNC, it seemed, than at the aides who put in jeopardy millions of dollars of data. Within hours, Sanders campaign manager Jeff Weaver was on a constant loop on cable saying the Democratic Party was trying to undermine the campaign. “Nobody debates that the entire DNC is supportive of Secretary Clinton,” Sanders says today. He has since helped raise almost \$300,000 to support Wasserman Schultz's primary opponent.

Perhaps the only person more surprised than Clinton by Sanders' early win was Sanders himself. After fighting to a draw in the Iowa caucuses, he couldn't stop smiling as he zoomed in the early-morning hours from Des Moines to Manchester aboard a rented jet packed with journalists finally taking him seriously. In New Hampshire, Sanders started to receive Secret Service protection and massive press coverage of his message. A landslide win over Clinton followed. It was a stunning turnaround for someone who just months earlier found himself sitting in the Manchester airport by the liquor store at Gate 8 in anonymity, waiting for a delayed commercial flight. And as often happens in politics at such moments, expectations began to exceed reality: for Sanders and his dogged staff, it seemed increasingly likely that they might be on a road to victory. He had briefly forgotten the Clintons' appetite for a political brawl.

In fact, the Clinton machine was just warming up. Clinton researchers had spent months digging into Sanders' vulnerabilities—standard operating pro-

WHAT BERNIE WANTS

Sanders plans to marshal his progressive backers at the convention in Philadelphia and realign the Democratic Party. If he defies the odds and gets the changes he wants, he will move the party far to the left. “I think we'll win most of them,” Sanders tells TIME. Clinton, however, has not shown much willingness to compromise.

\$15 FEDERAL MINIMUM WAGE

Clinton has supported a national \$12 minimum wage, but Sanders supporters want \$3 more.

PAID FAMILY LEAVE

Sanders, along with many Democrats in Congress, supports a tax to fund up to 12 weeks of paid family leave, while Clinton supports family leave but opposes a plan that would come with a payroll tax increase.

CARBON TAX

As part of an aggressive plan to combat climate change, Sanders wants to see a tax on carbon emissions, a measure Clinton has not supported.

TUITION-FREE PUBLIC COLLEGE

Sanders wants to make all four years of college free at public universities, while Clinton has said she wants “debt-free” college.

MEDICARE FOR ALL

A central plank in Sanders' platform is a government-funded health care system in the style of Canada and European countries. Clinton has floated a buy-in plan.

OPEN UP ELECTIONS

Sanders has long contested the role of Democratic superdelegates, or party elites, who can support the candidate of their choice. He wants to allow independents to vote in Democratic primaries.

cedure for any modern campaign—and countless outside allies offered their binders of research too. There was plenty to go around: he was once ambivalent about South American socialist dictatorships, he honeymooned in the Soviet Union, he voted against the Wall Street bailout that ultimately helped U.S. autoworkers and he had been critical of Barack Obama's first term. Clinton tagged Sanders for being AWOL during the fight for health care in 1993 and '94, despite plenty of TV footage and photography to the contrary. Fair or not, the onslaught left Sanders upset; he had never faced this kind of scrutiny. “We know a lot of stuff has been leaked into the papers which are lies and distortions,” Sanders says. “Their response is, ‘Look, that's the world we live in, that's what you gotta do.’ I understand that. I don't think that's what you gotta do.”

Goaded by his insular, mostly male circle of advisers, Sanders lashed back, questioning Clinton's integrity and railing against her speaking fees from big corporations and Wall Street firms like Goldman Sachs. “He got into a space where he felt comfortable pushing back,” says an adviser. “People get into a corner and they strike back very hard.” The cordial chitchat between their aides in the post-debate spin rooms stopped or turned confrontational, with Clinton adviser Karen Finney and former NAACP president Benjamin Jealous, a Sanders ally, clashing in open view of reporters after one forum in Flint, Mich.

By spring, the candidates had stopped calling each other to offer congratulations on victories. Backstage at a campaign event in early April, an aide showed Sanders a headline in the *Washington Post*: “Clinton questions whether Sanders is qualified to be president.” Without reading the story, Sanders scribbled on his legal pad and angrily charged onto the stage at a Philadelphia event, saying “the American people might want to wonder about your qualifications, Madame Secretary!” Of all the arguments to make against Clinton, unqualified was perhaps not the strongest.

None of this was happening in a vacuum. Voters were paying attention, and in a year that favored outsiders over insiders, many cheered on Sanders, who chops his own wood for his stove and has never worn a tuxedo, even after 25 years



Young Sanders supporters gather at a rally in Vallejo, Calif., east of San Francisco, on May 18

in Washington. By West Virginia's May 10 primary, exit polls showed as many as a third of Sanders supporters were saying that, to deliver the revolution their man was demanding, they would rather vote for Trump than Clinton.

Soon all parties were feeling aggrieved. Clinton's team in Brooklyn, now expanded to two floors of a nondescript office building with views of the Manhattan skyline, remained close. Wins were accompanied by dance parties. Losses came with assurances that the setbacks were not enough to deny them the nomination. Clinton aides, who from the start expected their boss to be the nominee, found themselves starting to despise Sanders and his unwillingness to stand aside to let the first woman lead a major party's ticket. In office rentals in downtown Burlington, meanwhile, Sanders' team internalized the lack of respect from the Clinton camp, especially the people they saw on television talking about how he needed to go away. "No one (in 2008) ever said Clinton needed to drop out, even after the math no longer worked," one Sanders adviser said. "Now, it's all we hear."

On May 14 on the Las Vegas Strip, the frustration turned to rage. Sanders' supporters petitioned to change the rules at a state party meeting, then attempted to rush the stage when they didn't get their way. The arcane party rules left many of Sanders' first-time activists confused and convinced they had been

wronged. Nevada Democratic Party chairwoman Roberta Lange got death threats. "Someone said they wanted to blow my face off," Lange says, adding that she received voice mail about "being hung in a public execution." She even got a threatening text message from someone claiming to know where her grandson goes to school. Sanders condemned the chaos in Nevada but said he shared supporters' frustrations. His allies, at first, didn't believe what was happening. They had successfully rallied like-minded activists—many of them new to politics—who believed the little guy was getting screwed. There's no telling if they will come back and try politics again.

THAT RISK MAKES CLINTON wary of angering Sanders or his disheartened supporters. She and her advisers know they must give Sanders something he can count as a win, lest they lose to Trump. Clinton's closest advisers have promised him an open ear and a seat at the table in Philadelphia. "Let's all remember, there is far more that unites us than divides us," Clinton spokesman Jesse Ferguson said in a statement to TIME for this article. Sanders "has been able to tap

into real concerns among progressives," says Neera Tanden, a Clinton ally who will help negotiate the party platform in July. If Sanders' advocates work toward a positive agenda, she adds, "he can have an incredible amount of say in the future of the Democratic Party." He may want an even bigger job, one that involves a party-paid plane and an official role in helping take back the House and Senate in the fall. That would give him the credentials he needs to crisscross the nation, giving speeches and keep growing the movement. Clinton and her team are likely to balk at all of that. And if Sanders comes away empty-handed, more than the White House is at stake. A left-center split in the Democratic Party will unfold, and where that leads no one knows.

But it is unlikely that Sanders would remain as spiritual leader. When the Republican right emerged from the mainstream GOP in the form of the Tea Party in 2009, no one imagined the party would turn to Trump as its standard bearer. So what happens next is largely up to Sanders. "This is a matter of Bernie switching gears, which is very hard to do, and I had to do it," says former governor Howard Dean, who conceded the 2004 Democratic nomination to John Kerry only after many party elders interceded. "You can be aggrieved if you want, but then you end up as Ralph Nader." Sanders will either seek a compromise, likely losing on most of the issues that matter to him, or he can try to force his agenda through a chain of dissenting votes that could further divide the party in a bitter drama played out on national TV. Either way, Clinton has shown little sympathy for his demands. "We got to the end in June, and I did not put down conditions," she said of her race against Obama in 2008. If things don't go in Sanders' favor, his allies have prepared for him to show his force. The City of Philadelphia has issued permits for four days of protests directly across the street from the main convention venue. As many as 30,000 protesters will be allowed to assemble within earshot of the arena. They will gather in a park named for FDR, which offers a small dose of historical irony. Roosevelt won his party's nomination in 1932 in Chicago only after delegates cast four rounds of ballots. —With reporting by CHARLOTTE ALTER/NEW YORK

A TALE OF THREE HEADQUARTERS

What a trio of campaign spaces tell us about the candidates themselves

By Zeke J. Miller

WITH ITS COLOR-CODED floor plan and handmade signs hanging from the ceiling, Hillary Clinton's campaign headquarters sprawls across a maze of cubicles and shared desks filling two floors of a Brooklyn office tower. Defined by youth, ambition and smarts, the largely millennial crew here is the most advanced digital, policy, analytics and communications operation since Barack Obama mounted a \$1 billion effort in 2012.

But in a season that has upended all the rules, such strength can also be a weakness. Overwhelming force can turn unwieldy, and Clinton's aides have struggled for a year to battle insurgent foes Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump, who operate out of makeshift offices built less around corporate flow plans than a never-ending focus on letting the candidates do exactly what they want.

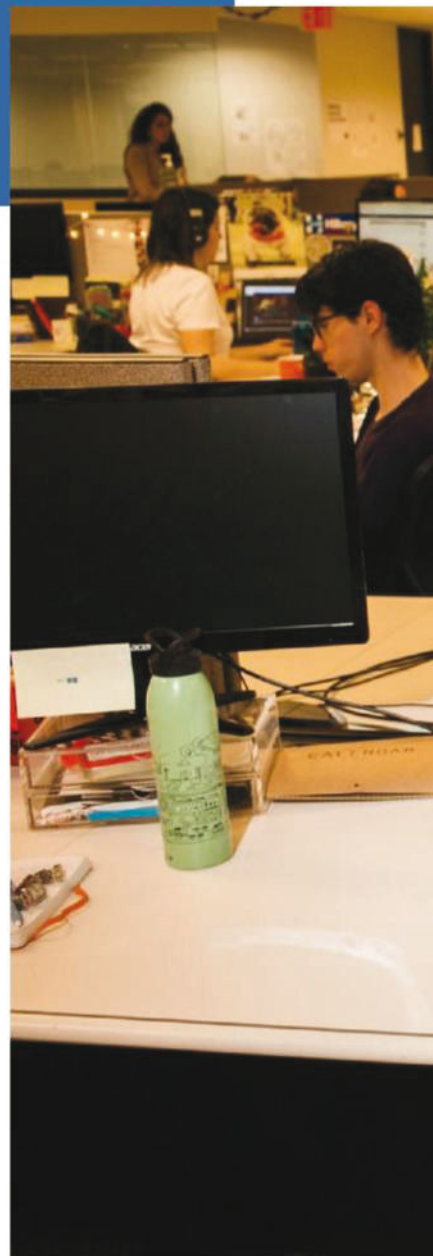
Consider the challenge of a tweet: Clinton's communications staff alone—at least 35 people—is easily larger than the Trump campaign's entire headquarters staff. When Hillary Clinton tweets, a handful of departments, and the candidate herself, need to sign off. "It's like the post office," said

one top Obama veteran.

Trump, for better and worse, has none of these worries. He just dictates his online missives to an aide. If it's late at night, he will pound them out himself from a smartphone in his bedroom. His staff sometimes finds out about his latest viral rocket with the rest of the country.

In contrast to Clinton's machine, the Trump campaign is run from folding tables and wall collages that fill a few rooms in an unfinished commercial space at Trump Tower on Fifth Avenue, some of the priciest real estate in the world. Everything about the place, hidden behind a plain white door off the brass-and-marble atrium in Trump Tower, appears at odds with the candidate's all-luxury, all-the-time public persona. There is dust, exposed ceilings, clutter and about two dozen staffers and volunteers on any given day. Young aides, their ties firmly cinched with Windsor knots, move between piles of bumper stickers and campaign signs, and work amid stacks of unopened mail and cheeky cardboard cutouts of the man himself. For relief, they take turns riding on a gold hoverboard.

The raffish office is a point of pride for Trump's campaign





CLINTON HQ

Clinton's campaign started off with just enough staffers to fill a corner of her office but has since expanded to two full floors of cubicles and shared work spaces for her army of field, data and communications aides



TRUMP HQ

An unfinished space in Trump Tower that was once a production office for *The Apprentice*, the headquarters is decorated with campaign memorabilia, including a wall of shame featuring Republican leaders who have criticized Trump, like former presidential candidate Mitt Romney

manager Corey Lewandowski, who pledged to the candidate when he was hired in late 2014 that he'd spend Trump's vast fortune like it was his own. That ethos still infects every part of the campaign. Eschewing most traditional tactics like television ads, field organizing and large data operations, Trump has steadfastly resisted calls to expand his operation, or its real estate, for the general election.

Trump campaign strategist Paul Manafort pushed to professionalize the team by bringing on a host of veteran operatives at a new office outside Washington, that plan was quashed by Lewandowski. A LET DONALD TRUMP BE DONALD TRUMP quote placard sits near his desk—a gift from the New York staffers.

Some GOP officials think this may come back to haunt Trump down the stretch. His plan to rely heavily on the Republican National Committee to do the heavy lifting of campaign mechanics has never been tried before. “Regardless of whom a candidate is trying to appeal to, they need to have the fundamentals,” says former RNC chief of staff Mike Shields, referring to the field and outreach programs Trump hasn’t developed. “Donald Trump is going to have to rely on the RNC for the vast majority of his mechanics more than any candidate in recent history.”

Far from the hustle and



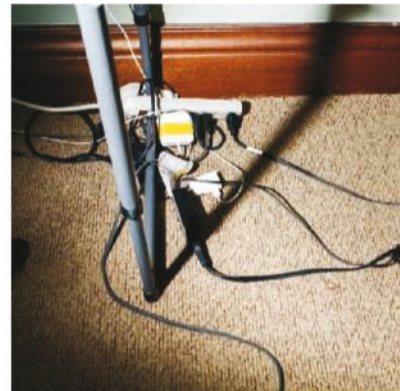


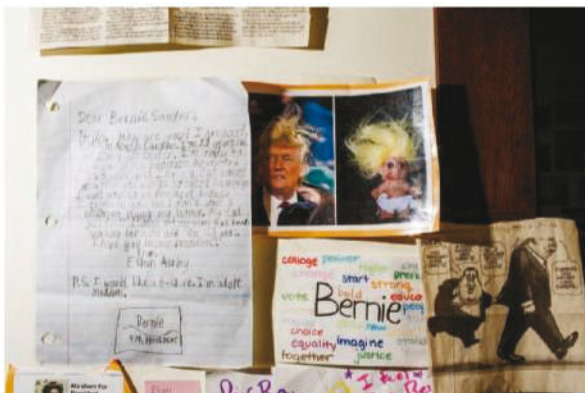
SANDERS HQ

Sanders' unexpected success has strained the capacity of his modest headquarters, with power cords strewn around to support the staff and volunteers. Ben and Jerry's ice cream is stocked in the freezer. The eponymous founders are among Sanders' most visible supporters

fury of Brooklyn and Manhattan, Bernie Sanders has run his campaign out of an office on a cobblestone street not far from his home in Burlington, Vt., where bagels are delivered once a week. Though his campaign is by some counts the most free-spending of any this cycle, most of that money has gone directly to field organizing and television advertising, leaving the headquarters with the feel of a small-town dentist's office. Since Sanders' big February victory in New Hampshire, most of his senior aides, meanwhile, have been telecommuting or making use of a separate row-house space in Washington, D.C., near Sanders' Senate office.

Campaign headquarters have never won or lost a presidential campaign. But floor plans and their contents can be telling representations of the candidates themselves, windows into how they would likely govern if they won the White House. For Clinton, the Brooklyn stack is a reminder of the deliberate process that would no doubt rule her Administration as it has her campaign. Trump has set up his command post in one of his own buildings, which tells a lot about his preferences. And for Sanders, the most important piece of real estate would be not behind a door but on the yellow legal pads where he jots down his thoughts every day. □

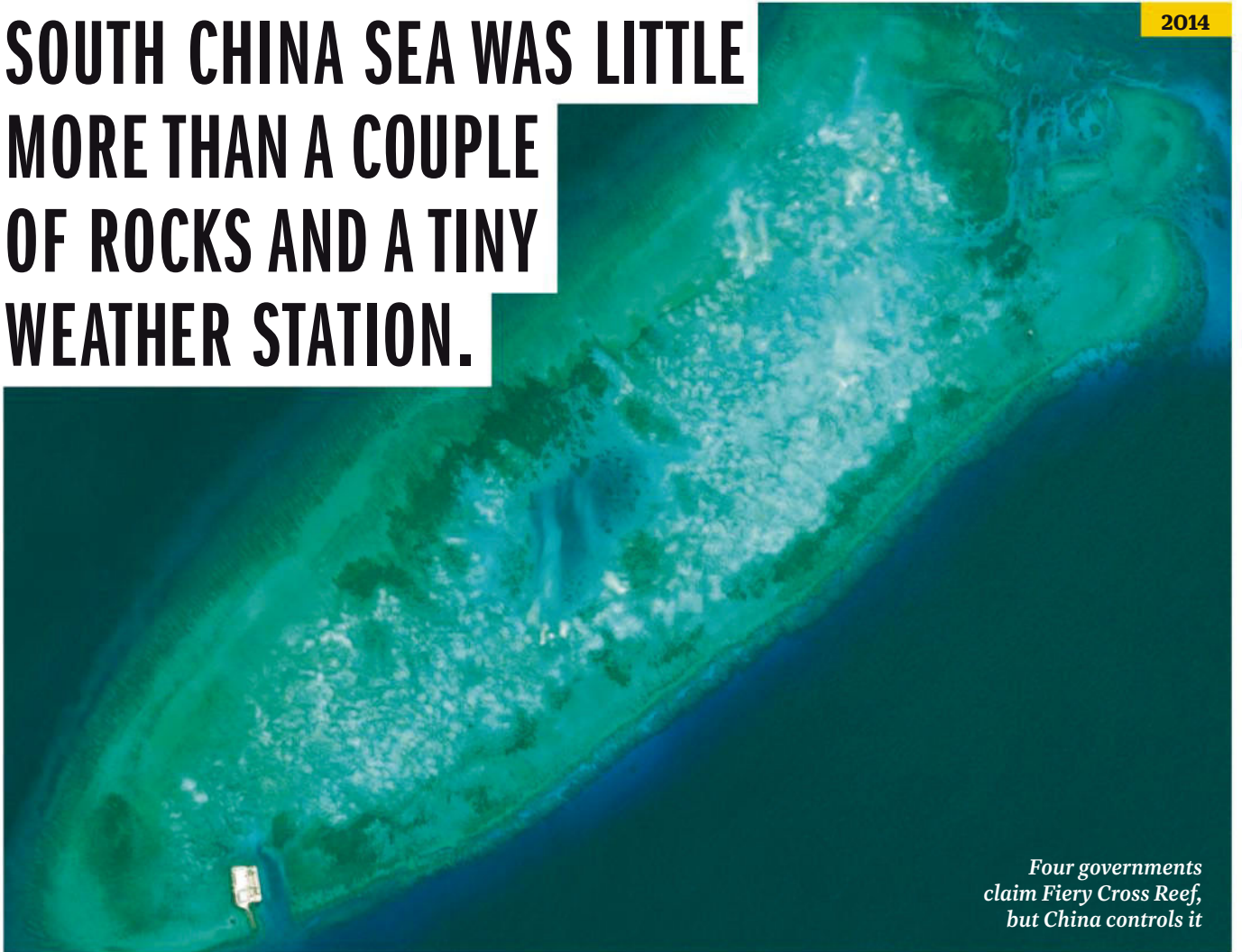




WORLD

TWO YEARS AGO, THIS
DISPUTED REEF IN THE
SOUTH CHINA SEA WAS LITTLE
MORE THAN A COUPLE
OF ROCKS AND A TINY
WEATHER STATION.

2014



*Four governments
claim Fiery Cross Reef,
but China controls it*

INSIDE THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEST OVER
THE MOST IMPORTANT WATERWAY IN THE WORLD

BY HANNAH BEECH | ON THE SOUTH CHINA SEA



An aerial photograph of a large, elongated artificial island, likely in the South China Sea. The island features a long, straight runway with a dark brown centerline, extending from the top left towards the middle of the island. To the right of the runway, there is a dense cluster of various buildings, including hangars, smaller structures, and what appears to be a parking lot. The island is surrounded by shallow, turquoise water, which transitions into deeper blue water further out. A small, narrow strip of land extends from the right side of the main island. The overall shape of the island is somewhat rectangular with a long, straight section.

2016

**THEN CHINA DUG IN.
NOW IT HAS A
RUNNING TRACK,
BASKETBALL COURTS—
AND A RUNWAY
THAT CAN HANDLE
MILITARY JETS.**

In the South China Sea, near the reefs known as Mischief and North Danger, a detachment of seven Philippine soldiers and seven dogs guard a coral-fringed sandbar. The cay is called Flat Island, but the “island” part is a bit misleading.

A leisurely stroll around the second smallest islet of the Spratlys—a scattering of rocks, reefs, shoals and islands flung across the South China Sea—takes just minutes. Since the Philippine navy sends fresh water, fuel and other provisions only once every two months, the soldiers must survive on their spearfishing catch and filched seagull eggs. “It’s a beach resort,” says Corporal Ariel Lego, “with no resort.”

Flat Island is too hot, too salty and too small to sustain human life. Yet this spit of sand outfitted with nothing more than a pair of concrete garrisons and a wooden hut is claimed by four governments: China’s, Vietnam’s, Taiwan’s and that of the Philippines, which occupies it. For years, activity around this isolated outpost, a full day’s sail from the Philippine island of Palawan, was limited to perhaps a daily pass by a Chinese, Vietnamese or Philippine fishing trawler. But in early May, Chinese coast guard vessels glided past Flat Island, part of an increasingly visible and adventurous maritime foray by the region’s biggest power.

A few days later, on May 10, a U.S. guided-missile destroyer cruised past Fiery Cross Reef, another disputed Spratly feature. Once just two rocks jutting out at high tide, the shoal has been transformed into a 680-acre (275 hectare) landmass, one of seven artificial islands the Chinese have constructed in the South China Sea since 2014. Passing within 12 nautical miles of Fiery Cross, the U.S.S. *William P. Lawrence* engaged in what the Pentagon terms a “freedom-of-navigation operation [to] challenge excessive maritime claims.” Beijing responded by scrambling fighter jets, protesting that the U.S. warship had “illegally entered waters near the relevant reef ... and jeopardized regional peace and stability.” An op-ed in the state-run *China Daily* warned that “the moves by the U.S. in the South China Sea smack of its arrogance as the world’s sole superpower.”

The South China Sea ranks as one of the world’s most strategically vital maritime spaces—and one of its most contested. More than \$5 trillion in trade flows through its waters each year, one-third of all global maritime commerce. The Strait of Malacca, the choke point that links the Indian and Pacific oceans at the southern end of the South China Sea, handles four times as much oil as the better-known Suez Canal. In an era when the world is ever hungrier for seafood, the South China Sea teems with at least

one-tenth of the worldwide fishing stock; its azure depths boast untapped oil and natural-gas deposits. No wonder six governments—those of China, Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, Malaysia and Brunei—have laid competing claims to various pinpricks of territory in the 3.5 million-sq.-km. waterway.

A Cold War–style showdown is now coalescing in the South China Sea, between the world’s established superpower and its presumptive one. While the U.S. is not a claimant to the sea’s specks of land, America’s navy and merchants have long cruised its waters freely. Washington contends that it is keeping vital sea-lanes safe and open for everyone. A rising China, meanwhile, is more assertively pursuing what it considers its birthright: a Monroe Doctrine–like sway over nearly the entire South China Sea and indisputable sovereignty over its sprinkling of reefs, rocks and isles. “The South China Sea dispute is about who is going to be top dog in Asia,” says Ian Storey, a senior fellow at the ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute in Singapore. “It’s *the* issue in global geopolitics.”

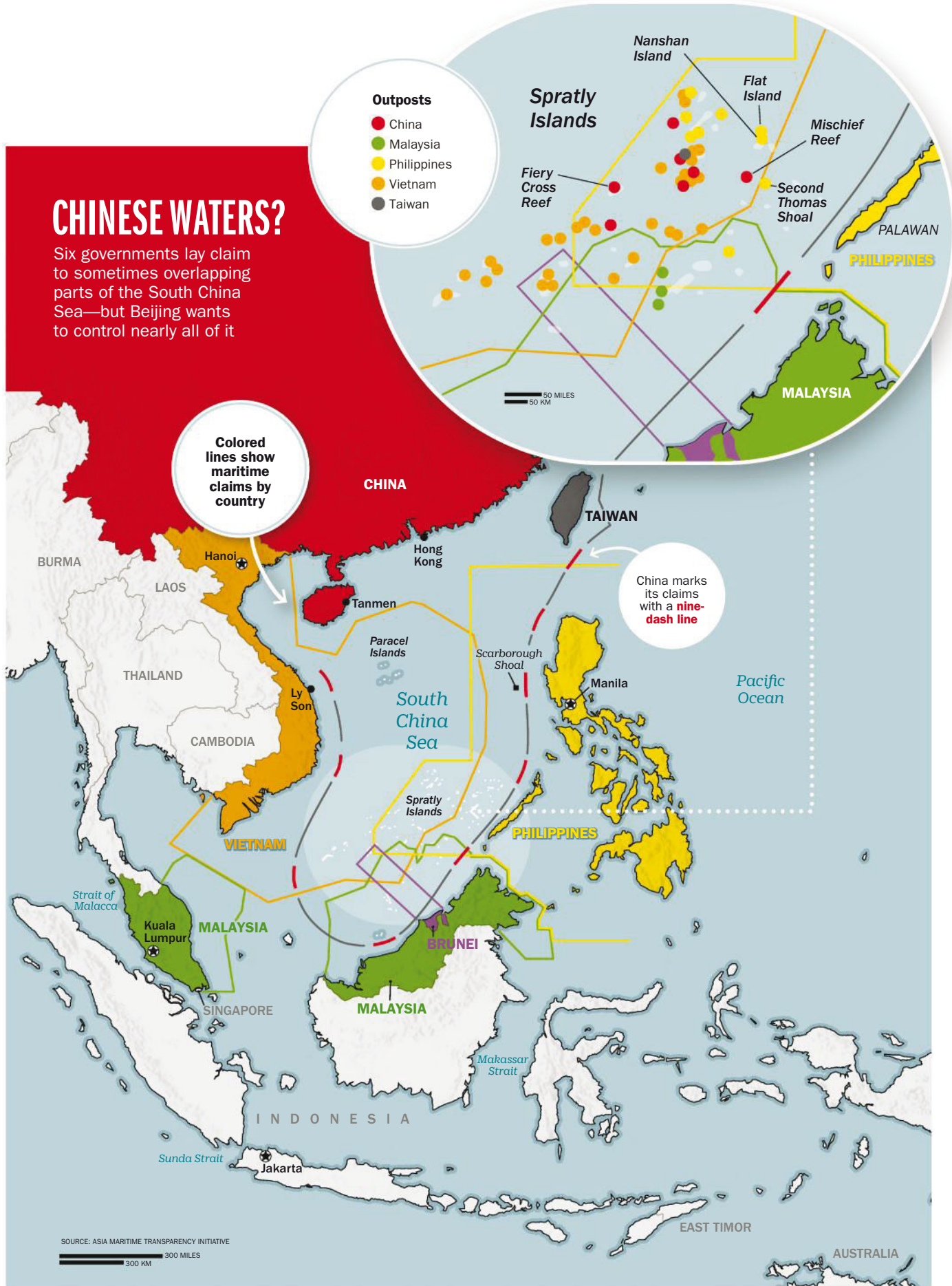
In May, a Pentagon report noted that Chinese dredgers have reclaimed at least 3,200 acres (1,295 hectares) in the Spratlys over the past couple of years. (All the other claimants combined reclaimed just 50 acres, or 20 hectares, over the same period.) A “Great Wall of Sand” is what Admiral Harry Harris Jr., head of the U.S. Pacific Command, has dubbed the Chinese building spree. “In my opinion, China is clearly militarizing the South China Sea,” Harris told Congress in late February, after Beijing had stationed radar and surface-to-air missile batteries in the Paracels, another disputed South China Sea archipelago. “You’d have to believe in a flat earth to believe otherwise.”

In response, the U.S. has stepped up its own South China Sea patrols, both by sea and air. On May 17, as a U.S. reconnaissance plane flew in what Washington says was international airspace over the South China Sea, a pair of Chinese fighter jets buzzed it, coming within 50 ft. (15 m) of the American aircraft in what the Pentagon called an “unsafe” intercept. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Hong Lei had a different take. “U.S. military vessels and aircraft frequently carry out reconnaissance in Chinese coastal waters,” he said, “seriously endangering Chinese maritime and airspace security.”

This is dangerous stuff: an aerial collision in 2001 over the South China Sea ended with a dead Chinese fighter pilot and an American crew that spent 11 days in detention on the Chinese island province of Hainan, sparking a bilateral crisis. “Right now, we are witnessing the evolution of the security architecture in the Asia-Pacific,” says Wu Shicun, president of the Chinese government–funded National Institute for South China Sea Studies. “If the South China Sea issue is not managed well, there will certainly be a confrontation between China and the United States.”

CHINESE WATERS?

Six governments lay claim to sometimes overlapping parts of the South China Sea—but Beijing wants to control nearly all of it



THE NOTION THAT controlling a piece of land affords a nation rights over the surrounding sea originates from the imperial age of the 17th century, when European powers wanted to monopolize their colonial spoils. Freedom of navigation, the right to traverse the seas unimpeded, flowed from the same rule book. But China, which began to decay under a waning dynasty, was a victim of empire—a narrative that underlines the country’s South China Sea claims, and much of its foreign policy. For too long, imperial powers preyed upon a weakened China, stealing away territory—as the British did with Hong Kong—and humiliating its populace. Now, under President Xi Jinping, a resurgent nation is defending what it considers its national patrimony. “Islands in the South China Sea have been China’s territory since ancient times,” Xi said last fall. “The Chinese government must take responsibility to safeguard its territorial sovereignty.”

China claims nearly all of the South China Sea as its own through maps marked with a U-shaped, nine-dash line that dates from 1947. The dotted boundary may have reflected one mapmaker’s impression of China’s historical claims, but it did not reflect the geopolitical reality of the mid-20th century. Even today, Beijing has not clarified in international forums just what the contentious line means. Is it just the bits of land and reef with the dashes that the country claims? Or is it all waters, as implied by official Chinese proclamations about “traditional fishing grounds” close to other nations’ coastlines?

Disputed maps, though, matter less than Beijing’s rapid island-building in the South China Sea. Under the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea—which China has signed but which the U.S. has not, undercutting American authority on the matter—only a naturally formed island that can support human or economic life can justify a claim of an “exclusive economic zone,” or EEZ, which can extend as much as 200 nautical miles. An EEZ is crucial: it grants a coastal nation sovereign rights to all natural resources within those waters, though other nations’ vessels are allowed to pass through.

But what recourse is there now that many of the reefs and rocks controlled by China have been turned into weaponized islands? In 2013, the Philippine government filed a case with a U.N. tribunal in the Hague arguing against Beijing’s South China Sea claims. A decision from the Permanent Court of Arbitration is expected in the coming weeks, further raising regional tensions. Beijing, though, has already said it won’t respect the ruling, which will likely at least partly favor the Philippines. Nor does the tribunal have any powers of enforcement.

China’s South China Sea construction frenzy has prompted many Asian nations long leery of American hegemony to move toward the U.S. China may now be their largest trading partner, but no country wants

“There is
a theory
that China
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they will
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—BENIGNO
AQUINO III,
OUTGOING
PRESIDENT OF
THE PHILIPPINES



to return to an ancient era when a Chinese emperor commanded tributary states across the continent. “I’m sure a lot of other countries are wondering, Will this ever befall us, will this limit our ability to chart our own course?” outgoing Philippine President Benigno Aquino III tells TIME, referring to China’s actions in the South China Sea. “There is a theory that China will tend to push, and if you bend, they will push some more.”

For now, Washington is not ceding any ground. On a recent sweltering day, the U.S.S. *John C. Stennis*, a Nimitz-class nuclear-powered aircraft carrier that considers itself “4.5 acres of sovereign U.S. territory,” plowed through the South China Sea. Escorting the *Stennis*, which was carrying more than 3,000 military personnel, were a trio of guided-missile destroyers and an Aegis cruiser. Jets strafed the sea with bombs, sending white spray into tropical air. “We’re committed to security at sea,” says Rear Admiral Marcus Hitchcock, commander of the *Stennis* strike group, which includes the *William P. Lawrence*, the destroyer that cruised close to Fiery Cross Reef. “We are very invested in the economic development and building of commerce in the region.”

The U.S. Navy has been a force in the waters of the Asia-Pacific region since 1853. That was the year U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry steamed into a Japanese harbor and used gunboat diplomacy to force the island nation out of its self-imposed isolation. Long tilted toward the Atlantic, the U.S. soon boasted Pacific holdings like Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines, which it won as spoils in the Spanish-American War. World War II cemented U.S. naval dominance in the world’s largest ocean as the Pacific began to feel like an American lake. Of the U.S.’s seven collective-defense treaties around the world, five are in the Asia-Pacific.

Born in Hawaii and partly raised in Indonesia, Barack Obama came to office vowing to serve as a Pacific President for a Pacific century. While the Middle East refused to release Obama’s foreign policy, he presided over a so-called pivot to Asia that included shifting a greater percentage of American troops to the Pacific. In 2010, then U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton announced at a regional forum in Vietnam that the U.S. “has a national interest in freedom of navigation . . . and respect for international law in the South China Sea.” Beijing, though, views the “rebalance,” as the pivot was later renamed, as nothing more than American containment by a more polite name. “By using the South China Sea to contain China, America has turned a regional issue into a global issue,” says retired Colonel Liu Mingfu, a Chinese military commentator. “Too many countries are now involved, and that’s dangerous.”

Defense spending in Southeast Asia has jumped as unease over China grows. Last year, Indonesia, Vietnam and the Philippines were among the 10

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countries with the world's fastest-growing military budgets, according to IHS Jane's, the defense publisher. "I think other Asian countries have been startled by the speed and uncompromising way with which China is asserting itself in the South China Sea," says Bilahari Kausikan, a veteran Singaporean diplomat. "It makes us wonder whether Beijing really believes the Pacific is big enough for the U.S. and China."

The Philippines, which in the early 1990s ended a long-standing American military presence, is welcoming back U.S. troops, even if the country's President-elect, Rodrigo Duterte, seems keen to repair economic ties with Beijing. In Vietnam—whose communist soldiers repelled U.S. forces decades ago—Obama on May 23 lifted an arms embargo that had been in place since 1984. Though he insisted the decision was "not based on China," few observers agreed. "It's all about China," says Anthony Zinni, a retired four-star U.S. Marine general who fought in Vietnam. "No matter how much he denies it." Xinhua, China's state news agency, concurred: "The United States has come to the belief that [Vietnam] could be suitable to help project Washington's will over the South China Sea issue."

▲
*Challenging
China's
expansion,
the aircraft
carrier
U.S.S. John
C. Stennis
patrols the
politically
turbulent
waters of the
South China
Sea*

In a May 24 speech in Hanoi, Obama was pointed when it came to the South China Sea. "Nations are sovereign, and no matter how large or small a nation may be, its territory should be respected," he said. "Big nations should not bully smaller ones." Two months earlier, he had cautioned Xi in a meeting against further reclamation in the South China Sea, according to U.S. defense officials. The warning centered on Scarborough Shoal, which is located 185 nautical miles west of Manila, the Philippine capital. Four years ago, the Chinese seized control of the reef after a failed diplomatic initiative by Washington. Now Chinese military commentators have gone online to discuss plans for dredging Scarborough to turn it into yet another artificial island.

But what rising power will blunt its ambitions, especially in its own backyard? While China has just a single aircraft carrier, a retrofitted Ukrainian ship that was once considered for use as a floating casino, it is assembling a blue-water navy—one capable of traversing the open oceans—and building a second aircraft carrier that will patrol the South China Sea. The Chinese are also developing the Dongfeng-21D anti-ship missile, which Pentagon officials fear could disable, and even sink, huge warships like the

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Stennis. As it is, half a dozen Chinese soldiers could probably overwhelm Flat Island without breaking a sweat, aside from the heat. And for all of Obama's commitment to Asia, the White House remained silent for months on China's reef reclamation. "The United States certainly isn't willing to go to war with China over these rocks and reefs," says Storey. "That leaves America with pretty limited options."

The Chinese may be willing to adopt a longer perspective, even if they take short-term measures like the rare move of denying the U.S.S. *John C. Stennis* a Hong Kong port visit in late April. "Like the tide that comes and goes, none of these attempts will have any impact," said Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi in March, as the *Stennis* completed an earlier pass through the South China Sea. "History will prove who is merely the guest and who is the real host."

BEFORE THERE WERE nations in the South China Sea, with their borders and EEZs, there were fishermen. On Vietnam's remote Ly Son island, Nguyen

^
*Seven
Filipino
soldiers—
and their
dogs—walk
on Flat
Island in the
Spratlys,
a disputed
group of
islands in
the South
China Sea*

Quoc Trinh, head of the local fishermen's association, describes how mysterious Chinese vessels have attacked his union's boats, ramming their matchstick hulls with steel prows or forcing the Vietnamese by gunpoint to evacuate contested areas. "China makes it impossible because we cannot fish where we used to fish for generations," he says. In early May, yet another Vietnamese trawler operating in the disputed Paracels archipelago—which Chinese naval forces gained control over in a bloody but brief clash with the South Vietnamese in 1974—limped to shore after it was struck by a Chinese ship.

Among the colorful trawlers nestled at Tanmen port on China's Hainan Island loom gray, steel-hulled behemoths. Many conspicuously lack fishing nets, and Tanmen locals refer to them as "military boats." In 2013, Xi visited Tanmen and praised the local maritime militia, composed of well-subsidized fishermen and decommissioned soldiers, for plying distant waters. He urged its members to "support the construction of islands and reefs," according to state media.



‘The speed with which China is asserting itself in the South China Sea makes us wonder whether Beijing really believes the Pacific is big enough for the U.S. and China.’

—BILAHARI KAUSIKAN, SINGAPOREAN DIPLOMAT



Roger that. Boats from the Tanmen militia already had stormed Scarborough Shoal in the run-up to China's successful takeover. In late March, around 100 Chinese fishing boats showed up in waters near the Malaysian coastline, guarded by a pair of Chinese coast guard ships. “Chinese trawlers are in the relevant waters carrying out normal fishing activities,” maintained the Chinese Foreign Ministry. But not all Tanmen locals agree. “It’s not about whether there are enough fish in the area for so many countries to share,” says Tanmen fisherman Chen Yiquan, who spent a year in a Philippine jail on charges of poaching sea turtles. “It’s about politics. Now there are more militias than real fishermen in the region.”

These paramilitary and quasi-civilian fleets have further muddied South China Sea waters. In 2009, Chinese fishing boats buzzed the *Impeccable*, a U.S. surveillance ship operating in the South China Sea, about 75 miles (120 km) from Hainan. The Chinese coast guard regularly directs water-cannon sprays at foreign fishing vessels and maritime authorities.

In March, after an Indonesian patrol boat apprehended a Chinese trawler that Jakarta said was illegally fishing in its waters, a Chinese coast guard vessel muscled in to free the Chinese boat from the towline connected to the Indonesian ship. The Chinese Foreign Ministry called the waters where the incident took place—off the coast of one of Indonesia's undisputed islands—its “traditional fishing grounds.” “The Chinese government is using these boats as military proxies in the South China Sea,” says Bonnie Glaser, a senior advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. “One wrong move, and they could provoke a serious crisis.”

As U.S. aircraft carrier strike groups ply the sea, Chinese cruise ships ferry Chinese tourists to the Paracels. In March, Wang Xinjian, a Chinese army veteran, boarded the *Coconut Princess*. “I felt like I was in a fairyland,” he says of his visit. “Any country that wants to take away our territory is daydreaming.” In early May, one of China's most popular folksingers gave a concert on Fiery Cross Reef, with a repertoire including “Ode to the South Sea Defenders.”

By contrast, the Philippine navy is perennially short of funds, bases and even boats—despite a 15% hike in defense spending from 2014 to 2015. When U.S. Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter announced onboard the *Stennis* in April that the U.S. and the Philippines would conduct joint patrols, it was unclear where Manila would find the vessels to embark on such exercises, at least until orders for new warships are filled. One of the Philippines' fleet of geriatric vessels—a U.S. cast-off of World War II vintage—has been parked since 1999 on the contested Second Thomas Shoal to serve as a military base. The rusting *Sierra Madre* houses seven soldiers and many more rats. “We cannot match the might of the Chinese military,” says Colonel Arnel Duco, a deputy commander of the Philippine Western Command. “So we need to be innovative and use every old ship and palm tree at our disposal.”

Sergeant Roland Wong was deployed for six months on the *Sierra Madre*. It was, the Philippine soldier says, “a job but a very lonely, very difficult job.” Wong now serves on Nanshan Island, another of the Spratlys. Unlike nearby Flat Island, Nanshan supports a lagoon with brackish water that soldiers can use to shower. The island is home to a seagull sanctuary, and the air is thick with birdcall and the stench of guano. Yet this coral-ringed isle, deep in the South China Sea, sits at the fulcrum of global geopolitics. “We are so far from everywhere,” says Wong, looking at a destroyed bulldozer that sits like an urban sculpture in the middle of Nanshan, a testament to the Philippine navy's corroded dreams. “But we are all scared that the Chinese will come one day.” —With reporting by YANG SIQI/TANMEN and MARK THOMPSON/WASHINGTON □

Tech

VIDEO

How
YouTube
celebrity
PewDiePie
reinvented
fame

STAR

+ By Lev Grossman

➞ Photograph by Ryan Pfluger for TIME

7,981,513 views

👍 484,767 👎 7,117



THE CHANNEL WITH THE FIFTH MOST subscribers on YouTube is Justin Bieber's VEVO channel—all Justin Bieber videos, all the time. It has 22 million subscribers. VEVO also owns the sixth through the 10th spots on the list, the other ones being, in descending order, RihannaVEVO, OneDirectionVEVO, TaylorSwiftVEVO, KatyPerryVEVO and EminemVEVO.

But go the other way, up the list, and something strange happens. You pass through a kind of YouTube-fame singularity where the rules of normal real-world celebrity no longer apply. At No. 4 is the online sketch-comedy duo Smosh (22 million subscribers). No. 3 is YouTube Spotlight—new and trending videos (24 million). The No. 2 channel belongs to HolaSoyGerman, a Chilean comic

made around \$12 million before taxes.

In person, Kjellberg is affable, articulate and low-key. Like a lot of Swedes, he speaks near perfect English with an American accent, only occasionally betraying his Swedishness by enunciating slightly too well, the way they do in ABBA songs. Also like a lot of Swedes, Kjellberg is really good-looking, with prominent cheekbones and ghostly pale-blue eyes, though on the day I met him, at a coffee shop in Manhattan overlooking the Hudson River, the effect was somewhat mitigated by a big comedy Viking beard. "I should trim it," he says. "But the thing is, my fans wanted me to shave so bad—so bad. And I just don't want to give them the satisfaction."

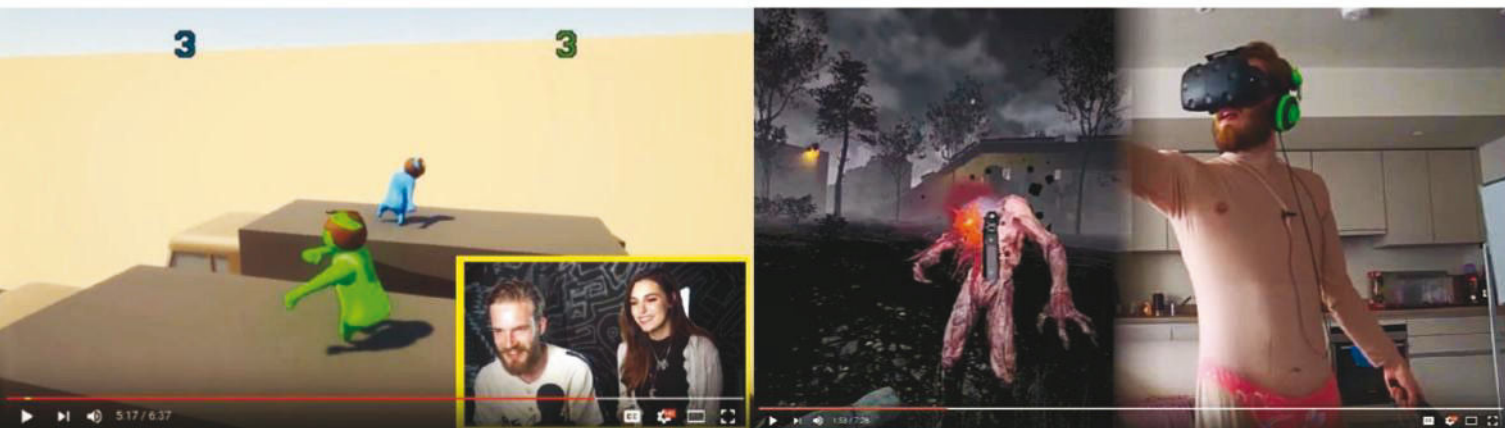
In spite of the beard, a bunch of passing middle-school students recognized him.

bagging is, do yourself a favor and don't Google it. As far as I can tell there was no *HTC Vive*—Part 02.)

Lights up on Kjellberg. He's in his kitchen. He has on headphones and VR goggles pushed up on his forehead. He's wearing a sheer, flesh-colored one-piece bodysuit with nipples drawn on it.

"Well, hello there!" he says. "Why do I always sound so creepy? How's it going, bros! My name is PewDiePie!" (He has a signature style for pronouncing his name: in falsetto, with something approximating a Southern accent, while closing his eyes and wiggling his fingers. It's his impression of a minor character in *South Park* called Mr. Hankey the Christmas Poo.)

Kjellberg grandly announces the topic for this video: he's going to play a horror game in VR. "I'm a little scared," he says.



and musician with 28 million subscribers. The top spot is owned, and has been since 2013, by PewDiePie. PewDiePie had, at press time, 44,426,617 subscribers.

PewDiePie's real name is Felix Kjellberg. He's 26 and lives in Brighton, U.K., though he grew up in Sweden. Most people over 30 haven't heard of him, but he is a bona fide global celebrity of an entirely new kind: if you track his numbers on Google Trends, which is admittedly a very rough metric of fame, he ranks only slightly below Tom Cruise. He has no easily defined talent—he can't sing, can't dance, can't act—but over the past six years Kjellberg has uploaded around 2,800 videos to YouTube, which collectively have amassed more than 12 billion views. *Forbes* estimated that in the 12-month period ending in June 2015, he

Kjellberg's girlfriend, YouTuber Marzia Bisognin, often guests in his videos, left; demoing a virtual-reality horror game while wearing a bodysuit

They asked to have their picture taken with him, and he agreed very graciously.

As popular as he is, it's hard to explain exactly what Kjellberg is famous for. His videos mostly show him playing video games and talking about them, and—as he would be the first to admit—he's not even that good at playing video games. It might help to look at an example.

On April 13, Kjellberg uploaded a video called *KILL YOURSELF IN VR?!—(HTC Vive—Part 03)*. (If you're curious, *HTC Vive—Part 01* was *TEABAGGING IN VR*, and if you don't know what tea-

"I'm a little shaky. I'm a little sweaty. But that's all right. The ladies like it." The camera zooms in, and he winks, deadpan. Then he adds, with a very slight trace of pleading in his voice, "Please keep watching."

It's actually kind of complicated what Kjellberg is doing here. He's pleasantly confident ("How's it going, bros!"), but then he takes it too far ("The ladies like it"); then he shows a little desperation ("Please keep watching"), which is also a joke (that's the confidence again). He's self-assured but not arrogant, vulnerable but not pathetic, handsome but not vain. He's totally unpolished, but at the same time his timing is consistently spot-on. Most of the critical literature about PewDiePie focuses on the bad language and crude physical humor—and

admittedly there are a lot of both—and the fact that he is, at the end of the day, just a guy playing video games and yelling. But they tend to ignore the fact that PewDiePie is actually very funny.

The rest of the video, seven minutes of it, is mostly split screen: on the left is in-game footage of PewDiePie shooting monsters and shrieking in terror and yelling slightly Swedish-accented action-movie taglines (“You want some?”). On the right is in-kitchen footage of Kjellberg flailing around looking ridiculous in the way that only somebody wearing VR goggles and a skintight onesie can. For the big finish, Kjellberg dies on the floor, in slow motion, with stirring movie-soundtrack music and stock footage of a white dove fluttering. Then the music stops. He scratches his crotch.

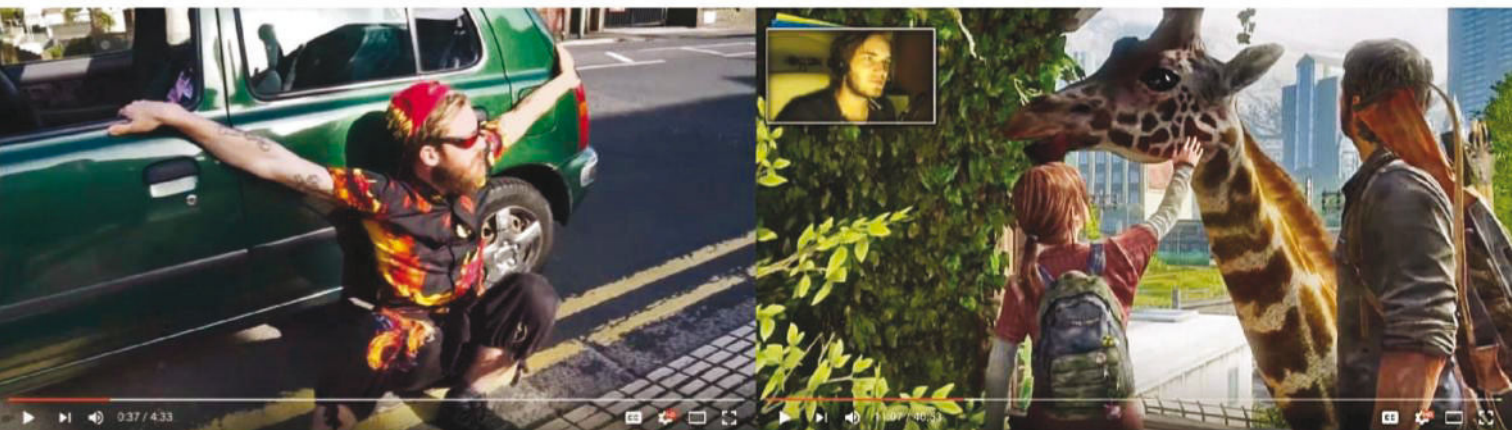
then that he started making videos.

Kjellberg’s videos fall into a category that’s known online as Let’s Play, in which people play games and provide running commentary over them. At their best, Let’s Plays combine the fun of *MST3K*-style comment tracks, vicarious entertainment, thoughtful analysis and chill couch banter with a friend. Let’s Plays are insanely popular now—there’s a whole community and a whole subculture around them—but back in 2010 not a lot of people knew about them. “I remember when I did my first video,” Kjellberg says. “I’d sit alone in my room just look-

Satirizing boastful car videos generated over 13 million views; right, playing PlayStation’s emotionally wrenching The Last of Us

Kjellberg’s rise to fame: he never really had a video go viral. He just ground it out, slow and steady, growing subscriber by subscriber.

It helps that Kjellberg lacks that air of glittery-eyed narcissism that afflicts many YouTube stars—that sense that they wither into lifeless husks when not on camera. Kjellberg just has a naturally infectious good humor that pops right through the screen. It’s the kind of thing you could never teach. “Having come up in the music business, there’s a few artists I saw that level of instinct with,” says Courtney Holt, head of Maker Studios, a producer and distributor of online videos, which partners with Kjellberg. “Eminem had really good instincts about who his audience was and what art form he was making. Felix has that.”



KJELLBERG’S PARENTS are both successful professionals. His father is the CEO of a Swedish company; his mother is head of IT at an accounting firm. He grew up in Göteborg, which is Sweden’s second largest city. As a kid Kjellberg was, according to him, pretty much the same as now, though a bit shyer and more introverted. He was always into games. “I wasn’t allowed to have a Nintendo,” he says. “Only when I was sick, we would rent one. So I was sick a lot.”

Kjellberg buckled down in high school and got into a competitive college, but it didn’t take. “I wanted to prove to myself that I could do it, and I did, but then I realized when I did that it’s not what I wanted,” he says. “I couldn’t relate to any of my classmates. It was a very strange period.” It was around

ing around like, I hope no one sees me, because this is the weirdest sh-t ever.”

Over his parents’ horrified objections, he dropped out of college and started working at a hot-dog stand. “I would get notifications on my phone,” he says. “Literally every single interaction on my channel, I would get an email, and I would read every single one, every comment. I was so hooked.” An interesting note about

HE NEVER REALLY HAD A VIDEO GO VIRAL. HE JUST GROUND IT OUT SLOW AND STEADY, SUBSCRIBER BY SUBSCRIBER

As PewDiePie grew, he evolved. Somewhere in there he started calling the monsters he was killing “bro,” and that evolved into calling his fans “bro,” and that became an official thing: PewDiePie fans are Bros, collectively the Bro Army. “It started off ironically,” Kjellberg says. “Now it’s somewhere in between.” Kjellberg has also matured, up to a point. In the first few years, he would regularly say things that were genuinely offensive. In 2012, he apologized for having made jokes about rape and swore off them. In April of this year, he posted a video in which he apologized for having used words like *gay* and *retarded* in pejorative ways in his early work. He doesn’t do that anymore.

He does still push and frequently, gleefully crosses the bounds of good taste in matters of profanity, sex and violence.

But he has also mobilized the Bro Army to raise over a million dollars for charities like Save the Children, the World Wildlife Fund and, most recently, Charity: Water.

The business model evolved too. At first Kjellberg collected revenue from advertising, then from merchandise. Now he also gets money for brand deals—basically a game company will pay him to play its games in his videos. “It’s not something I’m trying to hide,” Kjellberg says. He holds up a bagel. “It’s not like I have to be, like, This bagel is delicious, I love it, it’s my favorite.” (He adds politely: “It is good though.”) It’s part of a larger cultural shift: audiences have learned not to care as much as they used to—if money’s changing hands, eh, it doesn’t have to taint the whole affair—and companies have learned not to ask for as much. “I remember five years ago if I was approached by a brand then it would be like, I would have to say a specific line, and that

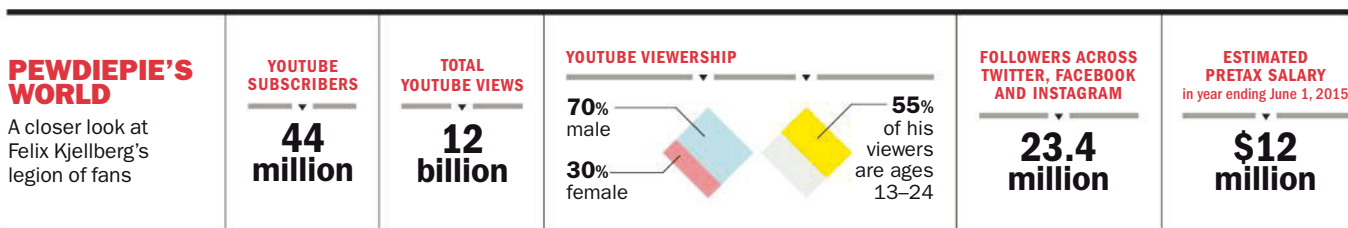
(Sample aphorism: “To fly, you must get rid of the things that weigh you down. This is why all your friends left you.”) He made appearances on *Colbert*, *Conan* and the *Today* show. Kjellberg also starred in a 10-episode series called *Scare PewDiePie* for YouTube Red, YouTube’s premium subscription service. The show—which has Robert Kirkman, creator of *The Walking Dead*, as an executive producer—stages real-life situations inspired by horror video games—creepy mental hospital, etc.—complete with actors and gory props. It began airing in February.

Scare PewDiePie was produced by Maker Studios, which is owned by Disney—it was acquired two years ago for \$675 million. (It’s a notable fact that Walt’s vision has now expanded to include an aggressively bearded Swede who makes videos called things like *GIVING HEAD TO SENPAI*, which is actually even worse than it sounds.) In Janu-

fun than his regular videos. The scares feel a little forced. (It currently has a user rating of 2.9 out of 10 on IMDb.)

YouTube’s superpower as a medium is its incredible directness and authenticity—it conveys a realness and a sense of connection between entertainer and audience that is utterly unlike, say, the faux authenticity of reality television. “You watch someone in a different way, a closer way, just because you’re watching a person,” Kjellberg says. “You’re not watching someone behind a show. It’s more raw.”

The challenge that YouTube stars like PewDiePie face is that there are contexts in which authenticity isn’t an asset. Some of the appeal of movies and TV lies precisely in how glossy and unreal and inauthentic they are, and Kjellberg doesn’t do inauthentic. “If you’re a movie actor, you’re playing a part,” Holt says. “What’s interesting about Felix is, he’s extremely successful at being an authentic version



SOURCES: YOUTUBE; MAKER STUDIOS; TWITTER; INSTAGRAM; FACEBOOK; FORBES

completely removes the authenticity.”

What started off as a furtive hobby has turned into something that suspiciously resembles a job. In the week before this article went to press PewDiePie uploaded 13 videos, including *EATING TOILET CANDY!!*, *PEWDIEPIE DATING SIMULATOR* and *REGRETTABLE PORN (Animated)*. He works six days a week. “I take Saturdays off,” he says. “Gotta reset somehow. It’s funny because I always viewed YouTube as something where I can wake up whenever I want, I can work whenever I want and have all this freedom. But the more I get into a traditional lifestyle, the happier I am as a person.”

OVER THE PAST YEAR, Kjellberg has been taking PewDiePie out of YouTube into other, more conventional media. Last September, he collaborated on a mobile game called *PewDiePie: Legend of the Brofist*. In October, he published a book of aphorisms called *This Book Loves You*.

ary, Kjellberg and Maker jointly launched Revelmode, which is a kind of YouTube-celebrity collective, led and curated by Kjellberg. He and his chosen YouTubers will collaboratively produce shows and video games and charitable initiatives. “The idea was, let’s build infrastructure around him so we can realize all of his creative ideas,” Holt says. “The space is moving really quickly, and I think he is one of the smartest people I’ve ever met in it.”

SO FAR, none of Kjellberg’s forays into other media has proved, definitively, that he can replicate his colossal online success elsewhere. The numbers are certainly good—*This Book Loves You* was a *New York Times* best seller, and *Legend of the Brofist* has sold extremely well—but not good enough to suggest that Kjellberg is building a new audience rather than just leveraging his old one. *Scare PewDiePie*, despite being vastly more effortful and expensive, is distinctly less

of himself. When you see him, you’re seeing *him* ... He can adapt and change, he can try new things, but he’s always PewDiePie.” It’s the secret of his success but also, so far, its limiting factor.

Not that Kjellberg particularly needs to be a star outside of YouTube. He doesn’t have to prove anything. He may be Internet famous, but he’s getting real-world rich. He personally dominates an entire medium, which is a lot more than most celebrities can say, and unlike most celebrities, he does it single-handed. Nobody directs PewDiePie, nobody writes his lines, nobody handles him. He’s pioneering a new kind of fame that never existed before: it’s not manufactured by a studio or a network, it’s handmade, at home, subscriber by subscriber, view by view. Alone in his kitchen, wearing his flesh-colored bodysuit, Kjellberg has personally rewritten the rules of the game. And while he was doing that, he was also winning it. □

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A detailed, close-up, black and white photograph of an eagle's face. The eagle's eye is prominent, looking directly at the viewer. The feathers around the eye and on its head are clearly visible, showing texture and detail. The eagle's beak is partially visible below the eye.

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Time Off

'IN BOTH OUTCAST AND PREACHER, RELIGION IS MEANT TO BE ENDURED WHEN NOT IGNORED.' —PAGE 62



With its script, Alice in Wonderland paved the way for more than just the sequel, above

MOVIES

The writer who helped Disney heroines find their inner feminist

By Eliza Berman

SOME TIME AFTER SCREENWRITER Linda Woolverton proposed the idea of a live-action fairy tale based on Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* back in 2006, she found herself paralyzed by the weight of the endeavor. Strolling through London during a visit that Christmas, she came upon a bust of the author. "I kind of... spoke to the bust," she says, a little bashful. "I asked his permission because I was feeling very intimidated—like, Oh, my God, Linda, really?"

It might come as a surprise that a moment of profound doubt afflicted someone with an unassailable

track record: Woolverton, now 63, was the first female screenwriter to write an animated Disney feature, 1991's *Beauty and the Beast*. It was the first animated feature to receive an Oscar

nomination for Best Picture.

Woolverton's Alice update is the first film written by a woman to make \$1 billion

And her 2010 reimagining of *Alice in Wonderland*, directed by Tim Burton, would make her the first female scribe behind a billion-dollar movie.

Its success led to a sequel: *Alice Through the Looking Glass*, out May 27. Though its name derives from Carroll's 1871 sequel, its plot sprang from Woolverton's imagination. Alice (Mia Wasikowska), now a sea captain, returns to Wonderland (Woolverton's take on Wonderland), where



Johnny Depp's Hatter grows ever madder as he pines for his long-since-vanished family.

Woolverton always wanted to write, but it wasn't until her mid-30s that she set her sights on film. She grew up doing children's theater in Long Beach, Calif., then founded her own company after college. She wrote for children's shows like *My Little Pony* and published two young-adult novels. On a Friday in 1987, she left one with a receptionist at Disney. By Sunday she'd landed an interview.

Part of Woolverton's interest in Carroll's work was in how ahead of his time he was. "He was talking about things that theoretical physicists are talking about now," she marvels. (Several concepts in the field, like

'If you depict girls and women in roles we've never seen before, then it becomes an assumption for younger generations.'

LINDA WOOLVERTON, screenwriter of *Alice Through the Looking Glass*

the Alice universe, are named for Carroll's unconventional notions of space and time.) At Disney, Woolverton too spoke a language of the future. Her arrival closed the door on an era of passive princesses and opened a new one to more feminist fare. Or, as she puts it, "I kicked that door down."

Disney, she says, "didn't know what they were dealing with when they brought me on." Shaped by the women's-liberation movement, she was determined with *Beauty and the Beast* to create a heroine who could see beyond the end of her hairbrush. She met with resistance at first. A scene that showed Belle sticking pins into an aspirational travel map was rewritten with Belle decorating a cake. Woolverton fought this change—and a host of others—and her heroine emerged

as Disney's first princess more at home in a library than in front of a vanity. The film earned \$425 million worldwide.

Had Woolverton acquiesced, an entire generation would have grown up with a less empowered role model. In a culture where the social impact of Disney princesses is fodder for academic studies, it's no small burden. "I feel an enormous responsibility," she says. "But if you depict girls and women in roles we've never seen before"—say, for example, a sea captain—"then it becomes an assumption for younger generations."

Since Alice's astronomical haul, Disney has made or announced plans to make live-action reboots of nearly all of its classic animated films, from 2014's *Sleeping Beauty* spin-off, *Maleficent* (also written by Woolverton), to *Cinderella* (2015) to this season's box-office beast *The Jungle Book*. Like Woolverton's Alice stories, most feature independent female protagonists.

While Disney executives reap their box-office reward, Woolverton thrills to the future of the idiosyncratic live-action heroine. She draws a straight line from Alice to another Disney heroine who's been a cosmic success: Jedi disciple Rey of *Star Wars: The Force Awakens*. "It was an industry wake-up call," she says. "I was told girls will see boys' movies but boys won't see girls' movies. Alice changed that."

Now Woolverton's first screenplay is up for reinvention: a live-action *Beauty and the Beast* is slated for release next March. Woolverton, who is not involved, just hopes that Belle—to be played by Emma Watson—makes the transition without losing her edge. As for the leading ladies she has yet to think up, she doesn't care whether they emerge from a womb or an animator's hand. "However you want to manifest it, that's O.K.," she says. "I just write the story." □

Woolverton's fairy-tale career



BEAUTY AND THE BEAST

Woolverton's 1991 vision of a modern princess, with evocative lyrics by Howard Ashman, earned the first Best Picture nomination for an animated feature



THE LION KING

The feline coming-of-age tale, which she co-wrote with Irene Mecchi and Jonathan Roberts, was the highest-grossing film of 1994 and won two Oscars



MALEFICENT

Woolverton's 2014 *Sleeping Beauty* spin-off delved into the backstory of that fairy tale's villainess, earning Angelina Jolie her highest ever box-office take

TIME PICKS

TELEVISION

Saturday Night Live producer Lorne Michaels reunites with alumni Maya Rudolph and Martin Short for a live weekly variety show, **Maya & Marty** (May 31), on NBC, featuring celebrity guests and comedy.



VIDEO GAMES

The first new franchise in years from the creators of *World of Warcraft*, **Overwatch** (May 24) lets PC, PS4 and Xbox One players shoot it out on maps inspired by real-world locations.

BOOKS

In **Modern Lovers** (May 31), Emma Straub's third novel, a group of former college bandmates, now grown in gentrified Brooklyn, rehash old secrets as they send their own kids off to college.

MOVIES

In the documentary **Presenting Princess Shaw** (May 27), an undiscovered singer in New Orleans catches the attention, via YouTube, of an Israeli musician, resulting in an unlikely partnership.





Fassbender's Magneto calls on all the world's scrap metal to make his point

REVIEW

The X-Men cede to special effects as the franchise faces an absurd *Apocalypse*

By John Anderson

X-MEN: APOCALYPSE MAY NOT BE THE best of the supermutant action series, but it's certainly the most... well, apocalyptic. A wrathful god (Oscar Isaac) rises from a multimillennial coma, takes one look at the world circa 1983 and decides it must be "cleansed." Magneto (Michael Fassbender), Holocaust survivor and longtime X-Men antagonist, has taken refuge in Poland, where he's betrayed by his countrymen and engages in the highly ritualized destruction of Auschwitz. Righteously embittered Magneto allies himself with Isaac's mutant deity—unsurprisingly named *Apocalypse*—and his "four horsemen," a concept taken from the Bible, someone notes. "Or the Bible got it from him," warns Moira MacTaggart (Rose Byrne), suggesting that the Book of Revelation might have been inspired by Marvel Comics.

If all this sounds wildly entertaining, it's not. Bryan Singer, directing his third X sequel since 2000's *X-Men*, has devoted his care and attention (and that of his effects team) to a great deal of 3-D destruction. CGI wrath-of-God-type stuff has become a reflex at Marvel, but it's precisely *not* what made the franchise's



As Apocalypse, Isaac squanders his considerable talent on a one-note baddie

previous installment—the highly profitable, highly praised *Days of Future Past*—such an entertaining movie. Picking up 10 years later, *Apocalypse* cedes supremacy to computers, and the humans are phoning it in, presumably on Reagan-era landlines.

Which is a shame, because the *X-Men* series, with its constant tug-of-war between tortured heroism and neurotic whining, is fertile ground for exploring intolerance, exclusion, tribalism and a frequent neofascist impulse among Xers, born of a well-founded paranoia regarding the world's view of mutants. The opposing arguments are generally made by the antihuman Magneto and his longtime frenemy, Professor Charles

Xavier (James McAvoy), founder of Xavier's School for Gifted Youngsters. Played rather breathlessly by McAvoy, Xavier views his nascent X-Men as potential protectors and benefactors of humanity. His faith is regularly tested.

So is our patience, by a movie with several things awry besides wooden acting, portentous dialogue and the virtual vandalism of that Auschwitz scene. For example, there's Singer's penchant for gory violence, with none of the gore. You want to revel in bloodshed? Show the blood. Otherwise, what you have is Wolverine porn. (Yes, Hugh Jackman shows up late in the game.) There's also a tendency toward overkill: the high-speed Quicksilver (Evan Peters), whose ability to change the trajectory of fired bullets made for one of the previous movie's best scenes, does the same kind of thing here, only more. Much more. Too much more.

The movie's top-flight cast is left in ridiculous positions. Fassbender, for instance, floats about in the air, Magneto-izing all of earth's metal and dismantling such architectural icons as the Manhattan Bridge and the Sydney Opera House. (Why doesn't a supervillain ever destroy the MetLife Building? *That* we'd like to watch.) Isaac, a really gifted actor, lumbers through the film clad in what looks like a Tiffany hot-water heater adorned with silverware patterns and black bath mats.

What exactly is *Apocalypse's* problem? It's unclear. Sure, the world of 1983 is a mess—there are superpower politics, a nuclear-arms race and a culture that might, especially to one accustomed to the aesthetic of the Babylonian-Sumerian-Egyptian epoch, seem polluted at best. "For *this* I was betrayed?" he bellows, harking back to his entombment in 3,600 B.C. Egypt and feigning some kind of personal philosophy. He has none. He has no objective other than power, no policy other than wholesale destruction.

Singer, who will undoubtedly be making *X-Men* movies till the blue mutant cows come home, has said he wanted a real actor playing *Apocalypse*. But Isaac is wasted in a role with little emotional energy. A major household appliance would have delivered more heat.

REVIEW

Preacher and Outcast lift faith and fear from comics

By Daniel D'Addario

IN A DUSTY, RUN-DOWN CHURCH IN TINY ANNVILLE, Texas, a man of the cloth named Jesse Custer tells his flock the world is falling apart: “And you know what? It’s all your fault. You’ve turned your back on the Lord. Your despair has caused you to lose faith, embrace false idols. But these idols, these things, they won’t save you.” The parishioners look scared, and they should. Their salvation depends on Jesse, and he’s possessed.

Preacher, the new AMC drama produced by frequent collaborators Seth Rogen and Adam Goldberg, is a comic-book series to its core. It’s not just adapted from a comic; it also shares the genre’s sense of infinite possibility and its comfort with merging big ideas and pulp sensibility. Played by Dominic Cooper, Jesse suffers a crisis of faith and finds himself taken over by a force from outer space, or what some might call the heavens. Is it good or evil? The power it bestows—to control others with his voice—can go either way. Sometimes he brings a wicked man to Jesus, but sometimes a command to “open your heart” compels a poor fellow to crack his own sternum.

This entity is so powerful that it destroyed previous hosts, including Tom Cruise, who in this reality exploded at a Scientology conference. Now Jesse—allied with his short-fused ex (Ruth Negga) and an Irish vampire (Joseph Gilgun)—strides through a world that feels postapocalyptic. The harsh light makes everything and everyone appear brittle; it leaches out possibility. There hasn’t been a cataclysm in fictional Annville, but misery has, little by little, come to govern the place. Developers led by the blandly wicked Odin Quincannon (Jackie Earle Haley) demolish homes the moment their occupants sign them away; an unfortunate young man shoots off his own lips, then goes through life mocked for his face’s resemblance to another part of the anatomy.

It’s a setting that needs a hero, and it’s thrilling to watch Jesse go from dour to empowered. *Preacher*’s sprightly way of making Annville’s ills seem solvable represents an unusual approach to evil, one that’s not shared by another new and similarly religious drama, Cinemax’s *Outcast*, whose hero, Kyle Barnes (Patrick Fugit), has long been tormented by demons who possess his loved ones—including, in flashbacks, his mother. His attempts to live in seclusion, with the shades drawn and the utilities shut off, are foiled as he’s drawn into aiding in exorcisms.

‘You are sinners, you have strayed, you have forgotten the power of the Lord. But it’s not too late.’

JESSE CUSTER, played by Dominic Cooper, in *Preacher*



PREACHER

The 1995–2000 comic-book series depicts Jesse’s travels; attempts to make it a movie fell short before **Seth Rogen**’s involvement



OUTCAST

The TV adaptation of this comics hit since 2014 for *Walking Dead* creator **Robert Kirkman** stars Fugit, below



Fugit, the actor who gave a terrific and watchful performance as a cop in *Gone Girl*, is just as good in a show with a miserabilist tone that makes *Batman v. Superman* look like *Pee-wee’s Big Adventure*. *Outcast* begins with a child, inhabited by evil, bashing his head into a wall and eating his own hand; later, a woman is violently assaulted in her home by a possessed man. (You’re reminded, often, that Cinemax, owned by HBO, is where the channel puts stuff even more explicit than *Game of Thrones*.) When this show’s Reverend Anderson (Philip Glenister) orates, he’s even more absolutist about existential threats than *Preacher*’s preacher. “Church is not optional,” he declares. “This is the only thing that will fortify us, sustain us, inoculate us against the darkness.”

Yet church doesn’t help, at least not at first. In both *Outcast* and *Preacher*, religion is meant to be endured when not ignored. When Jesse visits a young woman in a coma, her mother dismisses him brusquely and promises to feed the casserole he’s brought to her dogs. Kyle, gifted with peculiarities that can help fight darkness, resists the call. In both shows, religion’s power runs up against a world not easily fixed, populated by the fearful and disillusioned whose hearts it can’t melt.

The fight between faith and the fallen is rare subject matter for TV dramas of late. The one that engages



Cooper plays
a man of great
power and
questionable
faith in AMC's
Preacher

most directly with the topic is *Game of Thrones*, whose characters are emboldened (or oppressed) by doctrines that don't exist in our world. Earthbound dramas avoid the subject altogether, which makes sense; TV has grown increasingly nihilistic since *The Sopranos*. With the exception of *Big Love*, churchgoing has been something of a nonstarter for protagonists written, self-consciously, as "complicated." This seems like a huge oversight, since religion, the guiding principle in billions of lives, lends itself to drama.

Neither *Preacher* nor *Outcast* touts faith as the sole answer to the world's ills; both depict how frustrating and tiring it is to be on either side of the pulpit. Their heroes take what works from their creed and invent the rest. While *Outcast* tells of an exorcist learning to harness his powers, *Preacher* does something far more intriguing, providing Jesse with a skill set that teeters between divine and demonic. He might be a messiah or in need of exorcism himself; the show might land in blasphemy. It's a precarious tone that perfectly fits the subject matter. *Preacher* has a multitude of mysteries to reveal—as long as you have faith. □

PREACHER airs Sundays at 9 p.m. E.T. on AMC; **OUTCAST** airs Fridays at 10 p.m. E.T. on Cinemax

QUICK TALK

David Schwimmer

The *Friends* star returned to TV as Robert Kardashian in *The People v. O.J. Simpson*. Next he'll play a sommelier who partners with an ex-con chef to start a restaurant in AMC's *Feed the Beast*, debuting June 5.

Did you research wine for the show?

A friend of mine is one of the top somms in New York, and he gave me a crash course. I waited tables for seven years—at Ed Debevic's [in Chicago], where the waiters were on roller skates, but also all over L.A. before *Friends*—so I thought I knew how to open a bottle of wine. Turns out I was crap.

Do you consider yourself a foodie?

If the definition of *foodie* is someone who flies to a new city or country just to try a restaurant, then no. If the definition is someone who, once they hit the ground in that new city, looks up the best restaurant there, then I guess I am.

You took a long break from TV. Why did you return?

Before I met my wife, I was a workaholic. When my daughter was born five years ago, I made the conscious decision to take my foot off the pedal. Then I started to get the itch again, and *O.J.* happened to come along.

Did you worry people would continue to think of you as Ross? I spent my whole time on *Friends* worrying about that. Then I just stopped caring. People will say, "Oh, that's Ross as a lawyer or a somm." That's fine.

How has starring on a hit TV show changed in the years between *Friends* and *O.J.*?

I honestly didn't think with all the different platforms—Netflix, YouTube—you could have a watercooler show on cable these days. I was surprised.

Have you heard from the Kardashians about your portrayal of Robert? I spoke to Kris Kardashian as research for the role. I have not heard from them since it aired. I would be interested to.

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN



Jesse Eisenberg and
Blake Lively in Amazon
Studios' *Café Society*

STREAMING

Amazon and Netflix play on big screen

LAST YEAR, NETFLIX'S *Beasts of No Nation* arrived in an unorthodox way. It received a token release in theaters for awards eligibility (star Idris Elba won a Screen Actors Guild award), but it was meant to be watched at home, a sign of streaming services' growing ambition.

This summer, Netflix will stream *The Do-Over* (May 27), starring Adam Sandler, and *The Fundamentals of Caring* (June 24), in which Paul Rudd plays caretaker to a teen (Craig Roberts) with muscular dystrophy. Amazon, perhaps stung by poor box office for Spike Lee's *Chi-Raq* (which arrived online an unusually brief two months after its debut in theaters), is giving some of its movies breathing room. At some point this summer you will be able to stream spring movies Amazon distributed, like the Austen adaptation *Love & Friendship*. More traditionally, you can see Woody Allen's *Café Society* at the cineplex starting July 15, or wait the standard three months until Amazon streams it. Austen, Allen, Rudd and Sandler: together they signify that new technology still needs familiar names to define it. —D.D.

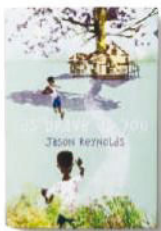




As Brave as You
is Reynolds'
fifth book

FICTION

Boys do cry, and that's O.K.



IN THE WORLD OF MIDDLE-SCHOOL literature, the how-I-spent-my-summer novel is a genre, and the how-I-spent-my-summer-with-my-grandparents novel its subgenre—Richard Peck's *A Long Way From Chicago* and Sharon Creech's *Walk Two Moons* are classics. Now Jason Reynolds joins that group with *As Brave as You*, a touching story of Brooklyn

brothers who spend an iPhone-free month in rural Virginia, picking sweet peas, scooping dog poop and learning what it means to be courageous.

Genie, 11, and Ernie, 13, have been dispatched to Grandpop and Grandma's while their parents work out whether they're getting divorced—a troubling enough start to the summer for worry-prone Genie. But when he arrives and finds out his kooky yet affable Grandpop is blind (and sometimes carries a revolver), his anxiety skyrockets, keeping him up at night. Both boys eventually settle into their country routine, until Ernie's birthday. Tradition in the predominantly black neighborhood dictates that Grandpop teach all boys how to shoot on the day they turn 14, a project he started after the death of Emmett Till. "Grandpop said that back then it was self-defense," Reynolds writes, "but now it was just all in good fun." But it doesn't sound like fun to Ernie. In fact, he's scared. When the lesson leads to an accident, every generation of the family must confront complicated feelings about manhood.

Reynolds, who has won Coretta Scott King Honor awards for *All American Boys* and *The Boy in the Black Suit*, has a gift for flashy but natural dialogue that pulls the reader into this vivid world of burgeoning masculinity. Genie and Ernie are all boy, but they're sensitive too, and that's not a contradiction. With subtlety and warmth, Reynolds offers up a new definition of bravery, one that honors the struggles of the past but looks toward a gentler future. —SARAH BEGLEY

PARKS AND REC

A Bush mother and daughter team up

Former First Lady Laura Bush and her daughter Jenna Bush Hager recently published *Our Great Big Backyard*, about our national parks.

Why did you decide to write this book?

Bush Hager: I wrote this book actually on maternity leave with my youngest baby, Poppy. Ask any nursing new mother—you're very nostalgic, and you think about what you want for your children. With the rise of technology, the one thing I didn't want to happen was for my kids to lose the appreciation for being outdoors and being creative.

Does Poppy have a great bond with her great-grandfather, whose childhood nickname was Poppy?

Bush Hager: My grandpa was really sick when I was pregnant with Mila, and we went to say goodbye. Really, we thought he wasn't going to live. He touched my stomach and said, "There's life, and then there's death." I thought my girls weren't going to meet this man who is such an important part of my life. And then he did live and got to meet Mila and now has held baby Poppy. We're going to spend his birthday in Maine, and we're taking the girls, so they'll get to hang out some more.

Mrs. Bush, you are a park fan yourself, right?

Bush: I am, and Mrs. Obama and I are the co-chairmen at the centennial celebration for the National Park Service. I hiked in a national park every year that we lived at the White House with childhood friends of mine. We still do it.

What were the ups and downs of leaving the White House?

Bush: It's great to have your own house and be back in private life, but it's such a huge privilege to get to live in the White House, and I know [the Obamas] think that. It's hard to believe that we've actually been home almost eight years. —S.B.

Bush and Bush Hager wrote another children's book, *Read All About It!*, together in 2008



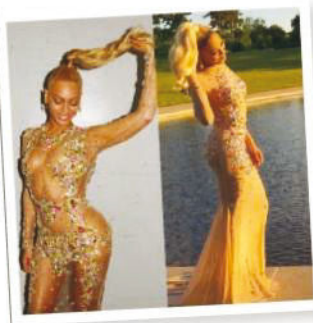


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An 18-year-old from St. Louis **re-created** **Beyoncé's 2015 Met Gala dress** for her senior prom.



Florida-based Saltwater Brewery helped design **a line of edible and biodegradable six-pack rings** in an effort to protect sea creatures.

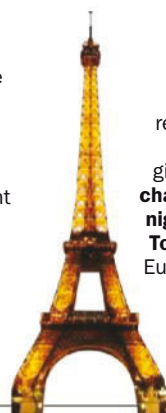
A video of **a woman laughing in a Chewbacca mask** went massively viral, logging more than 140 million views on Facebook.



CBS's fall TV schedule **will (sort of) reunite Friends stars** Matt LeBlanc and Matthew Perry—they're both starring in Monday-night comedies.



As part of a promotion, rental company HomeAway is giving tourists **a chance to spend a night in the Eiffel Tower** during the Euro 2016 soccer tournament.



A team of chefs in Italy set a Guinness World Record by baking **a 1.15-mile-long pizza**, the longest ever.



**LOVE IT
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TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE

Louisiana State University's famous live mascot, Mike the Tiger, was **diagnosed with a rare form of cancer**; he will undergo an aggressive treatment plan.



Hangar 1, a Bay Area-based distillery, debuted a limited-edition batch of vodka that is **made from San Francisco fog** and costs \$125 per bottle.



Atlanta's International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers **removed the iconic peach** from the top of its building—and from the city's skyline. Said the group's leader:

'We hated that peach. It was ugly, and we couldn't stand it.'



Critics of the new logo for Japan's Minshinto political party—meant to evoke an M—**mocked it for depicting an "indecent" act.**



Police in Palm Bay, Fla., responded to a burglary call at an office—only to find that **the culprit was a rebellious raccoon.**

PIZZA: AP; PROM DRESS: INSTAGRAM; SIX-PACK RINGS: SALTWATER BREWERY; VODKA: HANGAR 1; CHEWBACCA: RACCOON; FACEBOOK; THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY; PEACH TOWER: ALAMY; LEBLANC, PERRY: EIFFEL TOWER; MIKE THE TIGER: GETTY IMAGES



How Trump went mainstream (and you can too!)

By Joel Stein

I KNOW THE IMPERMISSIBLE CAN QUICKLY BECOME ACCEPTABLE, as it has with premarital sex, talking on your phone in public, selfies and sending photos of your penis, unless that's still not O.K., in which case I was totally kidding. Still, it seems strange that less than a year ago, when Donald Trump announced his candidacy by saying that Mexican immigrants are "bringing drugs, they're bringing crime. They're rapists," he was banished from the mainstream. NBC, which aired his *Celebrity Apprentice* and beauty pageants, declared it was "ending its business relationship with Mr. Trump." The Pope called him "not Christian," which is something so harsh the Pope has not even called me that, and my name is Joel Stein. Macy's discontinued its line of Trump clothing, and Serta stopped selling the Trump Home Mattress, which, I'm guessing, had a recording inside that said, "All are impressed with how nicely I have treated women, they found nothing. A joke!"

Since then, Trump has said even more offensive things. He wants to bar Muslims from entering our country, condones torturing family members of terrorists and thinks John McCain is "not a war hero" because, Trump said, "I like people who weren't captured." He has condoned violence at his rallies. Yet now Trump is welcomed on NBC to host *Saturday Night Live* and to joke around with Jimmy Fallon. He's invited to meetings with mainstream politicians who have condemned his statements. It's not that these people have changed their minds and now agree with Trump. But they no longer find him or his ideas so repulsive they need to ostracize him. It's as if Minnesotans all went back to having their teeth fixed by the guy who killed Cecil the Lion. And he still kept killing beloved African lions.

TO FIND OUT how this transformation takes place, so I can pull off this same trick after some of the offensive columns I've written, I read a new paper co-written by Yale philosopher Joshua Knobe, titled "Folk Judgments of Normality: Part Statistical, Part Evaluative," that examines how folk judgments of normality are part statistical and part evaluative. I didn't really understand the paper. So I called Knobe.

Apparently, he, with his co-author, Adam Bear, did an experiment where he tried to figure out how people decide what's acceptable: their own values or what everyone else is doing. Specifically, he asked people to list their guess for the average, ideal and normal amounts of TV watching, sugary drinks per week, books read each year, calls to your parents every month and, oddly, "drinks of frat brother per weekend," which I'm pretty sure is just Yale guys trying to sound cool. Knobe found that what people consider normal is a mix be-



tween their ideal and the average, and we lean heavily toward the latter. "If you're eating a steak right in front of a moral vegetarian, they don't react like you're doing something immoral. That's because they think what you're doing is normal," Knobe told me. And, I'm pretty sure, delicious.

OUR MORAL HORROR crumbles from even a light application of mass opinion. Which makes sense if you want to create a community. You have to engage with people you don't agree with if they make up a sizeable population—otherwise, you're a smug liberal jerk with no friends and nothing but an MSNBC hosting gig. It's why most people who are religiously opposed to homosexuality now associate with gay people. It's why abolitionists in the antebellum South wouldn't turn down party invites to Monticello. It's why we trade with China. And it's why Trump is now welcomed at all the chummy and impressive events that nominees get invited to. "The thing you're observing about Donald Trump is that people are thinking that being racist is in some weird way normal," Knobe said. Trump, of course, has said, "I am the least racist person that you have ever met." That's how normal it's become.

But we should also be aware of our complicity in normalizing the dangerous. So until this election is over, I vow not to invite Donald Trump to my house. I will also not pour the bottle of Trump sparking wine I own, even in a mimosa where no one would know. If I play bridge, I will refer to playing my chosen suit as using an "upstage card." If I write a column about some silly inconsequential election thing, like the conventions, I will not treat his candidacy like it is just any other. And when President Trump is sworn in, I will beg the TIME editors to scrub this column from the Internet. At some point, only a moron doesn't cave to the masses. □

Eddie Huang The *Fresh Off the Boat* author, Baohaus chef and Viceland TV host is back with a new book, *Double Cup Love*, about his international quest for romance

As someone who has prepared actual Chinese food, what do you make of American Chinese food? Any country you travel to has their own Chinese food, and they all have the same things. They hit on a matrix. Every single dish—whether it's kung pao chicken, General Tso's chicken, orange chicken—you have acid from vinegar, heat from chilies, sugar, soy, which has umami, and then it's usually fried. It's pop music. Max Martin [hitmaker for Katy Perry, Taylor Swift, the Weeknd and others] is to music what Chinese food is to fast food.

You say the Michelin guide pushes restaurants away from taking risks. They like to say they are a response to the stale American food culture. But they create another stale global food culture at the other end of the economic spectrum. They are creating a formula at the top of the food chain just like Chinese food created it at the bottom. Neither is evil or insidious, but they need to be considered.

In *Double Cup Love*, you're critical of chef Marcus Samuelsson's Red Rooster. Do you feel you're unusually competitive? I have chefs I'm friends with, but it shouldn't gloss over how you view their food. There is a formula to these restaurants. I think it's very important for chefs to maintain their identities, resist the pressure to conform, and be idiosyncratic. If you're a leader, be a leader! Don't be a follower.

Is it strange to have your name on a character of ABC's *Fresh Off the Boat*, a TV show based on your book that you're no longer involved with? I think it's cute. In certain neighborhoods, they'll come up to me and say, "I love your show!" They're the ones who are going to watch the show and go on

Amazon and buy the book and say, "The book's really not like the show! He's not the 12-year-old kid from the show!" I'm actually 34. Surprise! I was mad in the beginning because I felt like we were misrepresenting Asian Americans, but the fact that so many Asian Americans have related to that image, it just confirms I'm more of an outsider than I thought I was, and that's fine with me.

"There's definitely people who hit you up because of the person you've projected, not the person you are."

Is collaboration difficult for someone accustomed to being the boss? I like writing because I have control. I like cooking because I have control. When I did the Vice show, I did not always have control, and I fought. What I learned is that for me to be collaborative and others to be collaborative with me, you just have to create a safe space. Maybe I don't have the final say, but I don't want to be written off before you grapple with the things I've said.

Much of *Double Cup Love* is about the challenges in your now concluded relationship with a white woman. Do these challenges make you less likely to date people of other ethnicities? It's not easy. But you don't always have a choice of who you like. It's important for white people, people of dominant culture, to know: You may be insecure, and you may be aware you don't know much about my culture. But it's O.K. Don't feel guilty, don't put pressure on yourself, and don't treat the next person of color you meet as your spirit guide. You're your own guide. If you seek out new experiences, you'll understand it soon enough.

Breakups tend to have two sides. Did you feel trepidation about writing about your ex? I wrote it, I know it's true, and I was just like, I hope she acknowledges this. I live by what I say. I'm really good at acknowledging my mistakes. I'm really good at apologizing. I don't care if I lose on a day-to-day basis.

You also write about using OkCupid. Is it nerve-racking to use a dating site as a recognizable public figure? When I started, it was nerve-racking. There's definitely people who hit you up because of the person you've projected, not the person you are.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO



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